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FOR THE YEAR

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The Council is grateful to English Heritage for a generous grant in support of the publication of the article on a moated site at Cowick and towards that on Marton and Moxby Priories, also supported by a grant from the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.

The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that the authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Society was founded on 1 April 1863 at a meeting of six gentlemen, two of them clerics, at Netherthong Parsonage near Holmfirth. It was at first called the Huddersfield Archaeological and Topographical Association, but 'Yorkshire' was substituted for 'Huddersfield' in its title in 1870, and in 1893 it was incorporated as the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. Three years later its headquarters were moved from New Street, Huddersfield, to 10 Park Place, Leeds, where it continued to flourish, acquiring the adjacent 9 Park Place and 37 St. Paul's Street, until in 1968 it moved again, this time to Claremont, its present home, an eighteenth-century merchant's house, extended by Dr. J. D. Heaton after he bought it in 1856.

The 50th, 75th and 100th anniversaries of the Society's foundation were celebrated in 1913, 1938 and 1963 respectively. Accounts of the commemorative events, together with details of the organisation's history and leading personalities, can be found in its Journal (Vols 23, pp. 1-91; 34, pp. 237-8; and 41, pp. 134-59). A short history of the Society by J. W. Walker, a former Secretary, Vice-President and President, was published in 1951 and an account of Claremont, written by Mr. and Mrs. B. Payne, appeared in 1980.

The present anniversary was celebrated on 24 September 1988 in co-operation with the Huddersfield Archaeological Society at Tolson Memorial Museum. Seventy-five members of the two Societies and their guests attended a buffet lunch. The principal guests were the Deputy Mayor of Kirklees and Prof. Norman McCord, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle on Tyne, who proposed the health of the Society. After lunch John Hedges, Head of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Unit, opened a commemorative exhibition of the work of the society, arranged by the Archivist, Mrs. Sylvia Thomas, and Mrs. Dorothy Payne. A lecture was then given by John O'Connel of the Huddersfield Polytechnic on the history of Huddersfield, while a party was also led by the Curator, John Runsby, to Castle Hill Museum.

The Membership of the Society has gradually risen from 48 in 1864 to 800 in 1963, reaching a peak of 1513 in 1980 and then falling to 1384 in 1987. Some 270 of these annual subscribers have in recent years been societies or institutions, so that the numbers of individual members have fluctuated between 800 and 1250.

The Society has always been well provided with dedicated officers to direct its activities. Following the death of its eighth President, the Rev. J. S. Purvis, in 1969 after nine years in office, the term of service was reduced to five years. Consequently, of his five successors, only Professor Le Patourel had died, Messrs. Gee, Forster and Ramm continue to serve as Honorary Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Taylor is still in office. The late Miss E. M. Walker was succeeded as Honorary Secretary by Miss L. Wordingham, and her successor, Mr. A. Aberg, gave up office on moving to the south of England. Mr. P. B. Davidson has served as Secretary since 1976. There have been three Honorary Treasurers since 1963. Mr. J. H. Ogden died in 1972 after thirteen years in office, and his successors, the late T. D. Mallinson and R. G. Hirst, had five and four-year terms of office respectively. Mr. D. H. T. Brooke has been Treasurer since 1981. Of the Honorary Editors, Mr. L. P. Wenham, only the third Editor who was not also Secretary, was succeeded in 1969, after fifteen years service by Mr. D. W. Crossley. The present Editor took up the duties of this office in 1974. Such new offices as Students' Warden, Inventory Officer and Publicity Secretary have been created as the need has arisen. The successive holders of these and other offices and the names of those who have formed the

Society's Council are recorded in the Journal and the Annual Reports. Of the 1963 Council, Professor Beresford, Mrs. Stanley Price, Mr. Ramm and Miss Wordingham are still active members of the present Council.

Inflation and changing prices have made the Society appear on paper to be much wealthier than it was in 1963, but it is in reality richer now, with a healthy investment income. Its finances were much assisted by the sale in February 1981 of 9 Park Place for £185,000 and the careful investment of the proceeds, actions then thought by some to be rather risky. In 1968 the Society's income was £5959 but by 1987 this had risen to £46,792, with a capital reserve of £261,139. The annual subscription, 10*s* 6*d* (52½p) in 1864, £1 10*s* in 1963, was gradually raised to £12.50 in 1984 and £15 in 1989. The present Honorary Treasurer is generally satisfied with the financial position, but keeps a watchful eye on expenditure for possible economies.

The *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* was first published in 1869 and for over a century four parts, at first issued twice yearly, made up a volume. Since Vol. 43 for 1971 a volume is published each year and since 1972 the actual year of publication and the year for which volumes appear have coincided. The cost of the Journal has risen considerably, from £500 in 1963 (16 per cent of the Society's income) to £9247 (22 per cent of the income) in 1986. Over the period this has represented between 41 and 104 per cent of the income from subscriptions. Two monographs, on *The Archaeology of Malton and Norton* and on *Rudston Roman Villa,* were published in 1978 and 1980 respectively and others are in prospect.

The Record Series, which commenced in 1885, has produced an additional eighteen volumes since 1963, bringing its total run to 145. The Parish Register Series has likewise continued to appear regularly, its volumes now numbering 153, and in 1981 the second series of Wakefield Court Rolls started to appear: six volumes have subsequently been published by the Society. Several of the Society's sections have also produced short period studies or guides, while six prints from the original water colour drawings for Walker's *Costume of Yorkshire* are also reproduced by the Society.

Lectures, excursions, the maintenance, use and constant increase of the Library and Archives have continued as regular activities of the Society. Since 1938 it has employed a professional Librarian, though incumbents tend to move to other posts after a few years, resulting in five changes since 1963 between Miss A. G. Foster and Miss Susan Leadbeater. Since 1976 there has been a trained Archivist, funded by the West Yorkshire Archive Service: Sylvia Thomas has been very active in this post.

New sections to foster period interests within the main Society have been added to those already in being. To such old established sections as those for Roman Antiquities, originally formed in 1906, or for Prehistoric Research (1946), have been added a Medieval Section (1969), one for Family History and Population Studies (1973), another for Industrial History (1970) and a section studying the Victorian period (1977). During the past 25 years other local societies have affiliated to the main county body. These include the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society, itself founded in 1842, the Olicana Society, the Helmsley Archaeological Society, the Wesley Historical Society (West Yorkshire Branch) and the Upper Wharfedale Field Society. The compilation of an Inventory of archaeological sites in Yorkshire has been supported by the Society since 1975 and there has been an Aerial Archaeology Committee, with a growing collection of photographs, since 1970.

During 1988 the Society instituted a commemorative silver medal, to be presented from time to time to those who have made distinguished contributions to the study of Yorkshire's past. The first such medal was presented to Dr. Arthur Raistrick.

Since 1963 many members have died. They include the following, distinguished for service to the Society or to historical scholarship: Dr. F. W. Brooks, R. J. A. Bunnett,

A. Butterworth, Sir Charles Clay, E. T. Cowling, R. Crosthwaite, Elisabeth Exwood, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Hartley, Heather Lawrence, K. A. MacMahon, H. E. Maguire, T. D. Mallinson, J. H. Ogden, Professor J. Le Patourel, J. Radley, Rev. J. S. Purvis, the 11th Earl of Scarbrough, H. Thwaite, Molly Walker, G. F. Willmot and Professor F. Wormald.

The last quarter-century has seen a great growth in the popularity of archaeology and a consequent increase in public funding of the discipline and the setting up of units or organisations for promoting it on a national and regional basis. Some of these have been reformed as the new county administrative structure has been created and then partly dismantled. Thus in West Yorkshire, Humberside and Cleveland the county archaeological units are larger and more active than those provided with smaller resources in North and South Yorkshire. The York Archaeological Trust was founded in 1972 and has carried out many productive excavations, notably on the Coppergate site; the Jorvik Viking Centre was opened in 1984 as a successful popular and profitable outcome of this work. Important excavations have been carried out over several seasons under York Minster on the legionary headquarters and the Norman cathedral overlying it, at the Roman fort and settlement of Castleford, at Bainbridge and Lease Rigg, both Roman forts, at the medieval sites of Kirkstall Abbey, Sandal Castle and Wharram Percy (now in its 38th season!), on prehistoric settlements at Seamer, Thwing and West Heslerton, while work resumed at Stanwick has cast doubt on Wheeler's interpretation of the Iron Age earthworks.

Departments of Archaeology have been founded at the Universities of Leeds and York, though the former is now a Centre for Archaeological Studies. Old established museums in the county have been revitalised and new ones founded: for instance at York both the Castle and Yorkshire Museums have changed and grown, while the National Railway Museum has moved to the city. The Malton Museum has found a new home in the old Town Hall and the Ryedale Folk Museum has expanded. A Mining Museum has opened at Caphouse Colliery near Wakefield. New journals have been founded: *Northern History* in 1968, the *Ryedale Historian* in 1965, the *East Yorkshire Archaeologist* in 1968, while the fascicules which will make up the various volumes of *The Archaeology of York* under the general editorship of Dr. Peter Addyman now number 27; they report on the results of the York Archaeological Trust's many excavations.

The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, with its northern regional office at York, has since 1963 published four volumes of its inventory of the monuments in the City of York, as well as books on rural houses in West Yorkshire and the North York Moors, on workers' houses in West Yorkshire and on the antiquities of Beverley. Its staff are producing a study of textile mills in West Yorkshire and have co-operated with the Ordnance Survey and the York Archaeological Trust in producing two period maps of York. A branch office of its Threatened Buildings Section was established at York in 1988 to meet the increasing number of applications to alter or demolish listed buildings. The official list of buildings of architectural and historical interest has recently been thoroughly revised. The Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission (English Heritage) has replaced the Department of the Environment as the guardian and popularizer of many abbeys, castles and ancient sites in Yorkshire. Its Central Excavation Unit has worked at Catterick and other threatened sites; an important excavation was also carried out in the outer court of Fountains Abbey. The two National Parks authorities in the county are anxious to protect and promote interest in ancient sites within their boundaries.

The period since 1963 has also seen a phenomenal increase in treasure hunting with metal detectors as an organised and popular hobby, one which can damage archaeological sites and disperse without adequate record the new and interesting

material discovered. A notable Yorkshire find made in this way was the fifteenth-century Middleham Jewel. Professional treasure hunters working on a commercial scale can be unscrupulous and secretive, hostile to archaeologists and unwilling to co-operate in revealing details of their more valuable finds. That others are more helpful may be seen from reports in the annual Yorkshire Archaeological Register and in the *CBA Forum*, published by Group 4 of the Council for British Archaeology. During these years, which have seen the passing of a new Ancient Monuments Act in 1979 and the National Heritage Act in 1983, interest in family and local history and antiquities has also increased. Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal Park were recognised in 1988 as national cultural properties by inclusion in the World Heritage List.

Amid all these activities members and officers of the Y.A.S. have taken a prominent part in fostering interest in the history and archaeology of the ancient county. This bare outline of the Society's activities and growth over the past quarter-century should be sufficient to show that it is in a flourishing state and is amply fulfilling the hopes and intentions of its now distant founders. The fuller material which is available in the Annual Reports and in the pages of its Journal and other publications may further convince members, should they require additional confirmation, that it continues to play a leading role in stimulating archaeological and topographical studies in Yorkshire. In spite of changing social habits, of television and computer technology, of different emphases or new interests among scholars, the Society appears fit and well prepared to enter the twenty-first century and to give another 25 years of service to Yorkshire archaeology.

THE HUDDERSFIELD AND DISTRICT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

By David Clarke

Twenty-four years in the chair probably makes me as qualified as any to write this story and perhaps to produce it in my own way. The Society's watchwords have always been good humour and informality, so this is a personal account, not a mere list of dates and digs. History, when it comes to record these events in closer detail, may raise its eyebrows, but the dates and other facts it may need will still be there in the archives.

There has to be a date or two and we start with 20th June 1956, when the inaugural meeting of the Society was held. The motivating forces were the Rev. J. S. Hallam and Miss Anne Maltby, assistant Curator of the Tolson Memorial Museum. They became the first President and Hon. Secretary respectively, heading a committee of six chosen from the first 18 members. John Hallam's particular interest was the Mesolithic period and a study group, (it would today be called a workshop) working on Buckley's notes and finds in the museum, was one of the first activities.

Finding good digs

Archaeology is nothing without digging and the first excavation organised by the HDAS was the Roman tile kiln in Grimscar Woods. Through the years the Society has come back again and again to the Romans, plotting and probing for that army's M62 route across the Pennines and seeking that holy grail, the lost fort of Cambodunum.

Scrolling rapidly through the Millennia, we had the Mesolithic excavation at Cook's Study, a moorland site near Holmfirth and private member's finds at West Nab, Woolley Edge and Ryedale. Bronze Age cairn sites were given special attention by Norman Lunn, now the Director of the Society's fieldwork and excavations. Notable finds from these digs near Honley included flints, a curiously carved stone and the identification of a prehistoric linear measurement unit of 26ft.

Iron Age researches were enriched by our excavations of two fortlets at Meltham – Oldfield Hill and Royd Edge. The Society was also drawn in to Dr. Varley's excavations at Castle Hill, Almondbury. We tackled the prehistoric occupation of the Bailey while he was busy with the more glamorous medieval well. The Iron Age was surveyed in a prehistoric seminar open to the public and held at Huddersfield Polytechnic in 1959. Not noted for the frequency of its seminars, the HDAS held its next one in celebration of its silver jubilee in 1982.

Medieval archaeology and vernacular architecture are subjects that have advanced rapidly over the last 30 years. The HDAS has its share of enthusiasts for the Pennine heritage. Digs have taken place at the moated Crosland Hall, Netherton and Storths Farm, Birkby, whilst a useful survey was made of cruck and aisled barns in the district. A fine timber framed building, Shelley Woodhouse, was saved for resurrection at the Avon Croft Museum of Buildings. It is unfortunate that a comparable museum site does not exist in West Yorkshire.

Bank House, Salterhebble, was a medieval dig taken on at the instigation of the West Yorkshire Archaeological Unit and another example of collaboration was the assistance we gave Brian Hartley with his dig at Slack.

The lectures

For every ten members who turn up for digging, fifty or sixty come to our monthly lectures. Many eminent archaeologists and historians have presented their work to us; from pre-Columbian gold and Roman chariot racing to the excavation of the Blackpool elk. The Society's previous and present Hon Secs – Jim Toomey and Bill Crosland – have been rightly praised for the very high standard of the lectures year after year.

Lectures are held on first Fridays in the months from October to March and in recent years a series of summer papers, slide or video presentations by members have been organised. For many years the venue was the Museum but it is now the Latvian Club in Belmont Street, Huddersfield, providing a relaxed atmosphere when the lecture is over.

Less academic functions have included Society dinners and many excursions through the years. Amongst the trips organised by the Society one remembers particularly those to York, Rudston, Langdale, Ryedale, Aldborough, Settle, Castleshaw, Wharram Percy and the Tutankhamen exhibition at Burlington House.

Reports of activities and digs together with relevant contributed articles appear in our journal The Brigantian. This is a glossier version of our old duplicated Bulletin. Print costs make a nasty hole in our budget, but recent developments in computer setting and laser printing (the so-called desk-top publishing revolution) may come to our rescue and keep it afloat.

I have been asked what are the highlights of my long association with the Society. Well the honour of being elected President of course, but more sharply felt was the thrill of spotting a hitherto unknown Iron Age camp on Air Ministry photographs arranged under a stereoscopic viewer. Royd Edge, with its mysterious inner ditches sprang into view. Quite a different highlight was the cabaret act after a Society Christmas dinner when our guest speaker demonstrated swordplay through the ages with a seemingly endless variety of fearsome edged weapons that flashed about his ears.

It has been said that archaeology is too important to be left to archaeologists. If this is true it is a pity but what is more certain is that the subject is becoming more difficult what with dendrochronology, thermoluminescence etc. The health of the HDAS is proof of the valuable role that can still be played by a local amateur society. We don't know everything but we have the right contacts for a two-day traffic of information with northern universities, the county archaeological units, the CBA and the YAS. After 32 years our enthusiasm is as keen as ever which is remarkable for a society whose catchment area boasts few dramatic sites, and where the enemies are an acid soil and a relentless climate.

A COLLARED URN OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE FROM SILPHO, NEAR SCALBY, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By Raymond A. Varley

A large rim fragment attributed to a Bronze Age Collared Urn which forms the subject of this paper is preserved in the Whitby Museum. There is, however very little literature relating to its discovery or the precise site location. On a label of nineteenth-century origin, attached to the fragment, neatly written in script is, 'Part of a British Urn from Silphoue Nr. Whitby'. The only other additional information is recorded in the museum's early accession register,[1] that the rim fragment of this urn was presented to the museum by the Rev. Dr. George Young in 1830.

Archaeological Background

In the Rev. Young's *A History of Whitby*, is an illustration of a complete Collared Urn[2] (Fig. 2), not dissimilar to the urn from 'Silphoue'. This urn survived only in fragments, was in the possession of a Mr. J. Bird who was responsible for the drawing and etching of the urn in Young's book, is recorded has been found in Eskdaleside, several years ago;[3] which would be prior to 1817. In Eskdaleside (Nat. Grid Ref. centring NZ 048855), round barrows, cairns and howes are numerous; Young discusses some of the names given to these howes,[4] but does not refer to a 'Silphoue'. Eskdaleside and its immediate environs were recorded by Robert Knox, on his map of the Scarborough district in 1821, but 'Silphoue' does not appear, and the site is not recorded on the latter O.S. Maps, nor was a 'Silphoue' mentioned by Elgee in his Early Man in North-East Yorkshire.[5] Therefore a 'Silphoue' is not in Eskdaleside and clearly Bird's drawing of a Collared Urn (Fig. 2), although it resembles the 'Silphoue' urn can not therefore be the same urn.

The obvious locality for a barrow site named 'Silphoue', near Whitby, would be Silpho centring (SE 965922) where there are a profusion of round barrows (Fig. 1). Only two mounds marked on Knox's map of 1821 have names, Swarth Howe (SE 970941)[6] and Silpho Beacon (SE 992932), these howes also appear on latter O.S. maps of Silpho, but 'Silphoue' is not recorded, or mentioned by Hinderwell, a nineteenth-century Scarborough antiquarian.[7] It is difficult to believe that a round barrow or mound named 'Silphoue' would have escaped the map maker. It therefore, seems reasonable to suggest, that the excavators themselves designated the actual mound they dug into 'Silphoue', being in the immediate vicinity of Silpho. No records exist of the actual excavation in the early nineteenth century of 'Silphoue', and the excavators themselves are unknown.

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1. I would like to thank Mr. David Pybus, of the Whitby Museum and Art Gallery, for checking the register for me.
2. Young, G., *A History of Whitby and Streoneshalh Abbey*, II. (1817), opp., p. 764, Plate of Antiquities, Fig. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 659.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 656-8.
5. Elgee, F., *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire.* (1930), p. 127, Fig. 47.
6. Swarth Howe *(Ibid.*, p. 83), produced a Collared Urn of the Secondary Series, Form II, Longworth, I. H., *Collared Urns of the Bronze Age in Great Britain and Ireland.* (1984), Corpus No. 1256, p. 253, Plate 202a. Another round barrow site at Silpho produced sherds belonging to two Collared Urns which are in private hands, and the site is unpublished.
7. Hinderwell, T. *History and Antiquities of Scarborough.* (1825).

Canon William Greenwell, who excavated barrows in the immediate vicinity of Silpho, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, which he records in his book *British Barrows*, reports that many of the barrows had been broken into prior to his own excavations 'by the mere curiosity-hunter, and it is to be feared that no record of what was found in them has been preserved'.[8] It may be that some of this work was undertaken by the same antiquarians or pot-hunters who dug into 'Silphoue' during the early nineteenth century without recording their work or finds.

To summarize, Silphowe, an unlocated barrow site at Silpho or its immediate environs, attracted the attention of antiquarians or pot-hunters prior to 1830, their excavations produced a Collared Urn, a rim fragment of which was presented to Whitby Museum by Rev. Young in 1830.

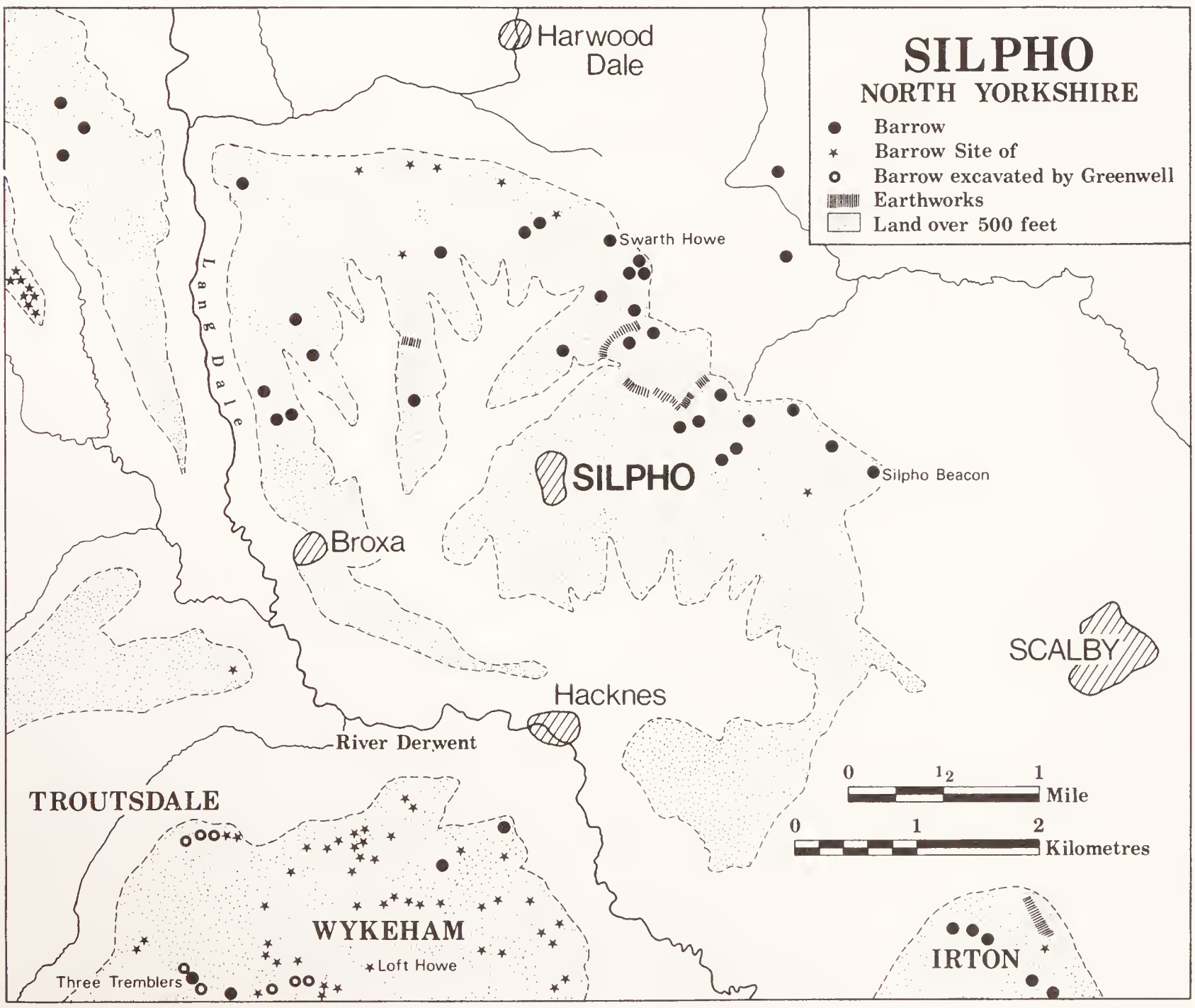


Fig. 1. The location of Silpho and distribution of barrow sites.

Geographical Situation and Topography

Silpho is situated 21.2km. south-east of Whitby and 11.2km. north-west of Scarborough (centring SE 965922) (Fig. 1). It lies on gravel, loam and sandy soil overlapping the Inferior Oolite, Oxford Clay and Corallian Beds of the southern moorlands at an altitude of 600 feet above sea-level. In Hackness to the south and Harwood Dale to the north are several limestone and sandstone quarries.[9] To the north-

8. Greenwell, W., *British Barrows*. (1877), p. 357.
9. Page, W., *The Victoria History of the County of York, North Riding*, II. (1923) p. 528.

west and northwards the moor extends for miles, bisected in places by dales and ravines which run southwards which are a feature of the moorland scarp. Immediately to the west are the precipitous slopes of the deep Langdale valley through which the River Derwent flows southwards through Hackness where the land slowly falls away. This shallow incline of the moor is also a feature of the terrain to the south and south-east where the moorlands are now chiefly under cultivation, descend towards the steep slopes of Forge Valley, a continuation of the Langdale valley, and the shallow sides of the Vale of Pickering near West Ayton, Hutton Buscel and Wykeham.

On the moors around Silpho are a profusion of round barrows, cairns and howes which are scattered in small groups or individually on Hackness,[10] Broxa,[11] Troutsdale,[12] Wykeham,[13] Hutton Buscel[14] and Irton[15] (Fig. 1). Many have produced Collared Urns, but only a small percentage have produced Food Vessels and it would appear that there is a complete lack of Beaker Burials from this region.



Fig. 2. The Eskdaleside Collared Urn (After J. Bird).

Comment on the Collared Urn from Eskdaleside

According to Young, this Collared Urn (Fig. 2) was found in Eskdaleside several years prior to 1817. The urn, existing only in fragments, was in a Mr. J. Bird's possession *circa 1817.* The illustration of the complete urn (Fig. 2) which appears in Young's book under the heading *Antiquities,* was drawn and etched by Bird. The measurements given for this complete urn are, about 10ins. high, 13ins. in diameter at the rim and 4ins. in diameter at the base.[16] The shape of the urn in Bird's drawing is somewhat distorted, but if the decoration is correct it takes the form of filled triangles, bordered below the rim and

10. Strickland, H. J., *Archaeological News Letter.* (1950), 3, No. 5, p. 87.
11. *Ibid.,* 3, No. 5, p. 87.
12. Longworth, *op. cit.,* in note 6 above p. 256, Plate 49b.
13. Greenwell, *op. cit.,* in note 8 above, pp. 365-70.
14. Elgee, *op. cit.,* in note 5 above, p. 84.
15. Brewster, T. C. M., 'Two Bronze Age Barrows in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.,* 45 (1973), pp. 55-75.
16. Young, *op. cit.,* in note 2, p. 659-60, opp. p. 764, Plate of Antiquities, Fig.1.

along the base of the collar with a single line on the collar. The neck is decorated by a lattice pattern and there appears to be a single broken circumferential line on the rim bevel. Although the actual site of this urn is not recorded and the urn itself may now be lost, Young's notes and Bird's drawing provide valuable information which would otherwise have been lost.

The Collared Urn from Silpho

Only one large rim fragment of this urn survives (Fig. 3). The fabric is rather hard and varies in colour on the exterior from buff-brown to dull fawn with grey and orange-patches. The interior is dark-grey with buff-brown patches with traces of a thin layer of carbon, and the core is black tempered with quartz grains. Both interior surfaces are smooth apart from occasional grit particles which protrude through the surface. The rim would have a diameter of about 25.3cm, the remaining height is 11.2cm; originally the urn was probably about 33.0cm high, and the diameter of the collar is 27.5cm. The thickness of the wall at the lowest point is 1.1cm and the thickest point is 2.1cm.

The urn is decorated on the collar with a crude twisted cord in the form of filled triangles between which are a series of finger-nail impressions and which can be found all over the collar; bordered below the rim and along the base of the collar with a single rough twisted cord line. On part of the remaining neck is the beginning of a single vertical acute striation line 2mm broad, indicating that it was probably produced by a blunt rounded instrument. This single line represents what remains of a lattice pattern on the neck, and the shoulder would probably be decorated by a circumferential row of jabs.[17] The decoration on the rim bevel consists of a series of small rough twisted cord diagonal lines. *Whitby Museum U.2.*

DISCUSSION

The Collared Urn of 'Pennine' type, is a form distinguished by W. J. Varley[18] in 1938 for urns comparable to these from the Bleasdale Circle, Lancashire, possessing a 'necklace' of punctured ornament round the shoulder. The term 'Pennine Urn' was considered, at the time to be an important new subdivision, regional studies within Lord Abercromby's general class of Bronze Age Collared Urns.[19] However Dr. Longworth assigned the 'Pennine Urn' to his current Secondary Series of Collared Urns, in his definitive catalogue of *Collared Urns of the Bronze Age.*[20] Therefore, both the Silpho and Eskdaleside urns (Figs. 2 and 3) are assigned to Longworth's Secondary Series, of the North Western Style,[21] and are likely to belong to Form II, which represents 8 per cent of the assemblage.

Decoration on both collar and neck, of the North Western Style, are rarely the same, the most frequent motif for collars being filled triangles, with lattice striations below on the neck, which are usually produced by a sharp edge of a flint flake or a blunt rounded instrument. The technique is best suited to the production of patterns requiring lines of some length, drawn accross the surface of the pot while still soft; the blunt rounded instrument was favoured for the execution of the lattice pattern on the Silpho urn, as the remaining single line is broadly scarred (Fig. 3). These motifs are very distinctive of the North-Western Style of tripartite vessels.

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17. I have based my reconstruction on Collared Urns of the 'Pennine' Type has distinguished by Varley, W. J., 'The Bleasdale Circle', *Ant. J.,* 18 (1938) pp. 162-6 and 169-71.
18. *Ibid.,* pp. 162-6.
19. Abercromby, J., *The Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland,* II. (1912).
20. Longworth, *op. cit.,* in note 6 above, pp. 29-35.
21. *Ibid.,* pp. 29-35, the Silpho Urn is corpus No. 1253, p. 253.

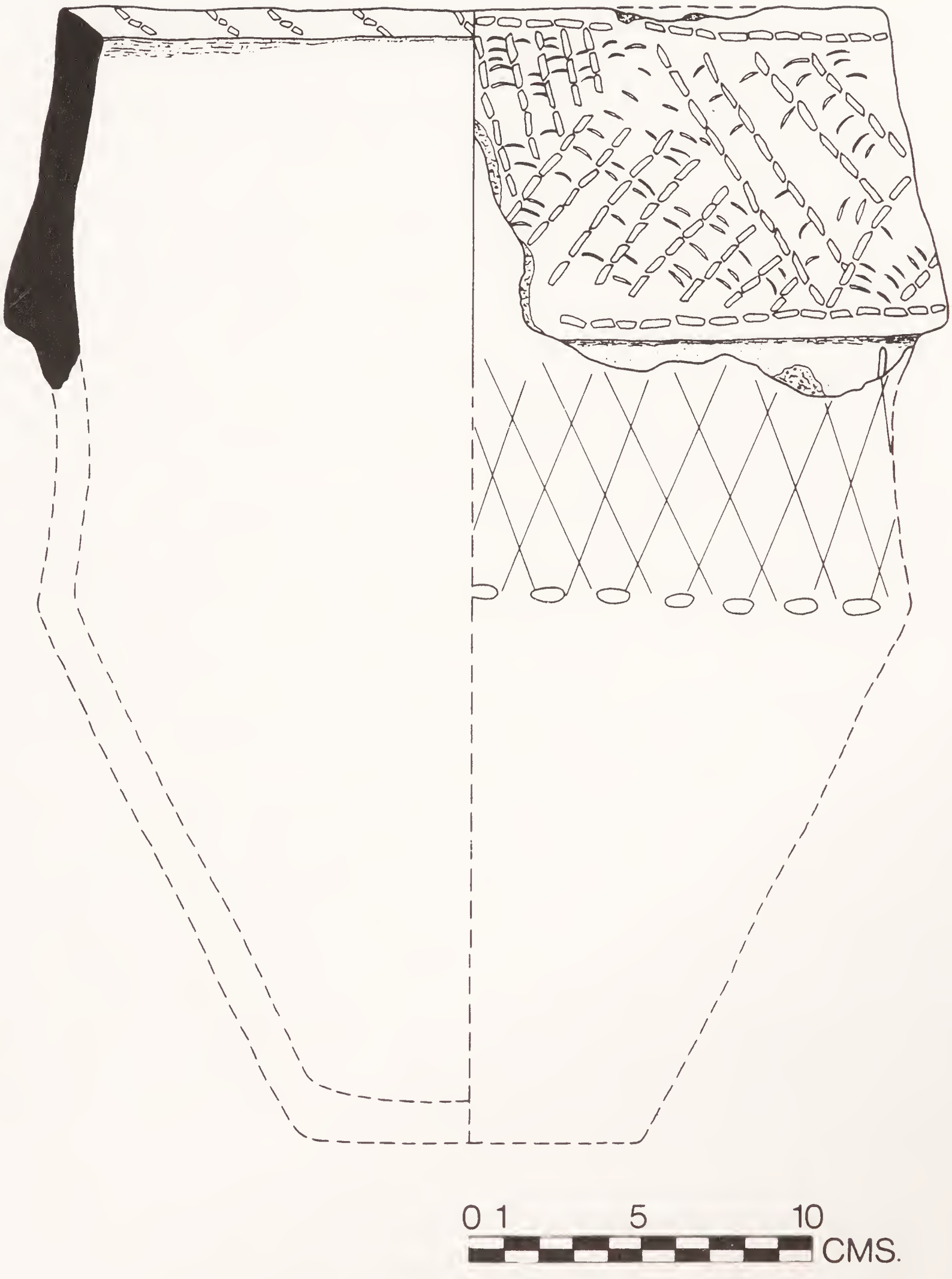


Fig. 3. The Collared Urn from Silpho.

Another distinctive feature of the 'Pennine Urn', the placing of a circumferential row of jabs round the shoulder, was noted by Varley in his discussion of the Bleasdale Urn Group.[22] The complete urn illustrated by Bird (Fig. 2), omits this necklace ornament, it is however, the writer's opinion that this motif was too small to be incorporated into

22. Varley, *op. cit.*, in note 17 above, pp. 161-66.

his drawing, only on rare occasions was the shoulder left unemphasised. The rim bevels on urns of the North Western Style are usually decorated; although it is not very clear on Bird's drawing, there appears however, to be a single circumferential line (Fig. 2), whereas on the Silpho Urn the decoration is in the form of diagonal crude twisted cord lines. The finger-nail decoration, which has been applied in between the filled triangular lines on the collar of the Silpho Urn (Fig. 3), is absolutely rare on the North Western Style of tripartite vessels.

All these features, linear incision, finger-nail impressions and pit decoration had their ancestry in the later phases of the Neolithic ceramic traditions of the Peterborough Culture. It is now apparent that these traits were extensively used on later distinctive local styles of the Peterborough Ceramic tradition in Northern England.[23] Therefore these motifs used on the North Western Style developed from an already established preference in the ancestral Peterborough tradition of the area.

The 'Pennine Urns' were thought in 1938 to be largely confined to the Pennine Chain. However, urns carrying traits of the North Western Style have a wider distribution extending over much central and Northern England, with their greatest concentration being in the north-west England.[24]

The Collared Urn from Silpho (Fig. 3) can perhaps be comparable with 'Pennine Urns' which are decorated with filled triangles, lattice striations and the neck lace ornament, from Blackheath Cross, Todmorden,[25] Tower Hill Warley near Halifax,[26] and Harland Edge, Derbyshire.[27] Although the Blackheath urn belongs to the Primary Series, North Western Style, Form II, it carries the same motif design, filled incised triangles on the collar are enclosed above and below by three twisted cord lines, on the neck is incised lattice and a row of jabs on the shoulder.[28] A total of about thirteen 'Pennine Urns' of both Primary and Secondary were excavated in 1898 at Blackheath, associated with cremation burials, accessory cups, jet and amber beads, a bronze dagger and an awl, in a cremation cemetery within a ring cairn.[29]

The 'Pennine Urn' was situated in the outer ring of urns by an upright Secondary Series, North Western Style Urn,[30] with a number of flat stones set round them. The urn was found inverted as a cover to a large plain Primary urn which contained an Accessory Cup, the cremation of an adult female, bone pin and necklace of mixed composition.[31] This necklace, which provides important dating evidence for both the site and the direct associated urns, was composed of a large round jet bead with fine striated decoration, eight globular jet beads, three barrel-shaped amber beads and two globular amber beads.[32] In contrast to the native local 'jet', amber is unique in north-western graves; it is imported, and linked very closely with the trading connections of the Wessex Culture. The large decorated jet bead can also be paralleled with the Wessex II Culture groups. Therefore this suggests that the necklace found in direct association with the 'Pennine Urn' and Primary Urn are contemporary with the Wessex II Bronze Age of Southern England (1550-1500 – 1400 B.C.).

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23. Manby, T. G. 'Neolithic Occupation Sites on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Y.A.J.*, 47 (1975), pp. 51-9.
24. Longworth, *op. cit.*, in note 6 above, p. 31, Fig. 23.
25. Russel, J., in Ling Roth, H., *The Yorkshire Coiners.* (1906) pp. 307-22.
26. Leyland, F. A., *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax.* (1868), pp. 58-9.
27. Riley, D. N., 'An Early Bronze Age Cairn on Harland Edge, Beeley Moor', *D.A.J.*, 86 (1966), pp. 41-2, Fig. 10-1.
28. Longworth, *op. cit.*, in note 6 above, p. 280, Plate 67b.
29. Bu'Lock, J. D., 'The Bronze Age in the North-West', *T. Lancs. & Ches. A. S.*, 71 (1961), pp. 15 and 41, Fig. 2.
30. Russel, *op. cit.*, in note 25 above, pp. 313, Figs. 224 and 228.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 313-5, Figs. 225 and 228.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 319, Fig. 232.

The Tower Hill urn belongs to Form III of the Secondary Series, North Western Style, decoration on the collar is of twisted cord filled triangles enclosed above and below by two twisted cord lines, incised lattice on the neck and a row of jabs on the shoulder.[33] This 'Pennine Urn' was discovered in 1848 whilst quarrying[34] and contained a cremation with a contracted mouth type of Accessory Vessel as distinguished by Longworth and dated by him to either side of 1400 B.C.[35] The Tower Hill site produced at least five urns, of which only two 'Pennine Urns' and an Accessory Cup survive.

The 'Pennine Urn' from Harland Edge was scientifically excavated between 1960 and 1962[36] is comparable with the Silpho Urn (Fig. 3), being of Form II Secondary Series, North Western Style. The Harland Edge urn is decorated on the callar with filled triangles of cord impressions bordered below the rim and along the base of the callar with two pairs of cord-impressed lines, the neck is covered with linear incised lattice, bordered on the shoulder by a single and partial double row of circumferential jabs.[37] This urn was found in the part of the mound which had been robbed to the natural rock, ten feet to the north-east of the centre, inverted over a cremation of a young adult, probably female, associated with a plano-convex flint knife and two flakes. Riley presumed that the burial was secondary, although no evidence that this was so was obtained from the cairn, which was much disturbed in the area of the burial. Food Vessels of Yorkshire Styles, associated with cremation burials in pit 2 were dated 1490± 150bc. (BM. 178)[38] whilst pit 3 produced a somewhat earlier date of 1750±150bc. (BM. 210),[39] and this was thought to precede the primary burials. Although the Food Vessels/ Collared Urn could not be linked stratigraphically, a date for the whole complex is suggested at about 1600-1640 B.C.[40]

The Bleasdale Circle, Lancashire[41] is an important site in the North of England which produced two 'Pennine Urns' belonging to both Primary and Secondary Series of the North Western Style, inverted over cremations in a central primary grave.[42] This Bronze Age burial site consist of a circular palisade, of oak posts. Eccentrically within this was a penannular ditch paved with birch poles and containing a circle of 11 oak posts surrounding the grave which contained the 'Pennine Urns'.[43] Varley presumed that this was a chieftain's burial,[44] in a mortuary house standing in its palisade, a house of the dead rather than of the living.[45]

In terms of conventional chronology, the Bleasdale Circle belongs to the Early to Early Middle Bronze Age, based on the two 'Pennine Urns'; however, Varley points out that this was a long period in the Bronze Age. The decoration on the urn belonging to the Secondary Series, North Western Style, Form III is of incised filled lozenges enclosed above and below by four incised lines on the collar, the neck has incised lattice with three incised lines below, bordered on the shoulder by a single row of jabs.[46] The Primary Urn of the North Western Style, Form IC contained an Accessory Cup, is

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33. Longworth, *op. cit.*, in note 6 above, p. 279, Plate 85d.
34. Leyland, *op. cit.*, in note 26 above, pp. 58-9.
35. Longworth, I. H., 'Contracted Mouth Accessory Cups', *British Museum Quart.*, 21 (1967), pp. 111-22.
36. Riley, *op. cit.*, in note 27 above, pp. 31-53.
37. Longworth, *op. cit.*, in note 6 above, p. 172, Plate 84e.
38. *Radiocarbon,* Vol. II (1969), p. 284.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
40. Riley, *op. cit.*, in note 27 above, p. 44.
41. Varley, W. J., 'A Note on Bleasdale Circle', *T. Lancs. & Ches. A. S.*, 48 (1933) pp. 159-162.
42. Dawkins, B., 'On the Exploration of Prehistoric Sepulchral Remains of the Bronze Age at Bleasdale By S. Jackson, Esq', *T. Lancs & Ches. A. S.*, 18 (1900), pp. 114-124, Plates I and II.
43. Varley, *op. cit.*, in note 17 above, pp. 158-161, Plate XLVI.
44. Varley, W. J., and Jackson, J. W., *Prehistoric Cheshire.* (1940), pp. 45-7, Fig. 5.
45. Varley, W. J., *Cheshire Before the Romans.* (1964), p. 65.
46. Longworth, *op. cit.*, in note 6 above, p. 217, Plate 67d.

decorated on the collar with incised herringbone enclosed above by a row of bone impressions and a single twisted cord line, and below by a row of bone impressions and two twisted cord lines, on the neck are incised filled triangles and bordered on the shoulder by a single row of jabs.[47]

The timber from one of the oak posts in the Bleasdale Circle, recovered in 1901[48] gave a C14 date of 1810±90bc. (NPL. 69).[49] However it must be stressed that this is the age of the timber sample and not of the urns. Another problem is that the wood used for the Bleasdale Circle is likely to have been mature. Therefore an error factor for this C14 date must be introduced in the order of +200 calendar years or more. In view of the uncertainty of the C14 date for the Bleasdale Circle, it should be taken as no more than a rough indicator for the age of this site.

Dating

It can now be seen that Collared Urns were in existence between 1800 and 1100 B.C.[50] based on the few C14 dates now available. However, within this long time span, it is possible to give a more precise date for the Silpho Urn (Fig. 3) but within limits. The Harland Edge Urn can be dated 1490±150bc. by charcoal from pit 2 and the Bleasdale Urns are 1810±90bc. from one of the oak posts, although the uncertainty of this date is due to the age of the wood.

Associated objects suggest further dates which should also be considered. The Blackheath necklace which is closely connected to the Wessex Culture, is dated around 1400 B.C.,[51] and this was in direct association with Primary and Secondary Urns. The only associated object with the Tower Hill Urns was a contracted mouth type of accessory vessel dated by Dr. Longworth to around 1400 B.C. It seems reasonable to assume that the Silpho Urn is broadly contemporary with the above mentioned urns dated by C14 or associated objects, and therefore a date around 1400 B.C. would seem an appropriate date for these 'Pennine Urns'.

Acknowledgements

The writer would like to thank Mr. A. A. Berends, Keeper of Whitby Museum, for permission to publish the Collared Urn, to Mr. D. Pybus and Mr. D. White of the Whitby Museum for making the fragment of this urn available for study. To the late Mr. W. J. Varley for providing additional information relating to 'Pennine Urns' and the Bleasdale Circle. Mrs. S. Turner, Whitby Library, specially produced a copy of the Eskdaleside Urn from Young's book, for me.

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47. *Ibid.*, p. 217, Plate 67c.
48. Radley, J., 'A Bronze Age Ring-Work on Totley Moor and other Bronze Age Ring-Works in the Pennines', *Arch. J.*, 123 (1966) p. 22.
49. Lavell, C., *Archaeological Sites Index to Radiocarbon Dates for Great Britain and Ireland.* (1971), p. B1.
50. Longworth, *op. cit.*, in note 6 above, pp. 79-80, Fig. 41.
51. Stone, J. F. S., and Thomas, L. C., 'The Use and Distribution of Faience in the Ancient East and Prehistoric Europe', *P. P. S.*, 22 (1956), pp. 37-84.

EXCAVATIONS AT CAT BABBLETON FARM, GANTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE, 1986

By Peter Cardwell

Summary

The following report describes the excavation of a length of pit alignment on the north-eastern Yorkshire Wolds. Originally this boundary feature may either have consisted of pits of uniform size, some of which were subsequently joined together, or was composed of pits of variable length. The pits were later linked by a shallow ditch, and the feature appears to have functioned as an element of land division during the Roman period. A ring gully within the site area was also examined. The nature of pit alignments and their relationship to other forms of landscape boundary in north-east Yorkshire is discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Background and location

The rescue excavations which are the subject of this report were undertaken by the Landscape Research Centre Ltd during June-July 1986, and funded by the National Pig Development Company in advance of the construction of a sow breeding unit and two bungalows near Cat Babbleton Farm, in the parish of Ganton, North Yorkshire. During the planning process the Archaeology Section of North Yorkshire County Council's Planning Department drew attention to the presence of archaeological features within the development area. Aerial photographic evidence indicated that the proposed levelling of the area would result in the destruction of a length of pit alignment which transected the site, while the presence of a round barrow adjacent to the access road suggested the possibility of other features within the boundaries of the 2.3ha development. The National Pig Development Company therefore offered to fund archaeological excavations prior to the start of construction work. Further financial assistance and practical support was provided by the landowner, Mr. P. Dunning.

The site (Heslerton Parish Project Site 200) is located to the north of Cat Babbleton Farm on Ganton Wold (TA 002 751), a high plateau in the north-eastern Yorkshire Wolds defined to the north by the Wolds escarpment and to the south by the Great Wold Valley, with dry valleys to east and west (Fig. 1). Situated towards the edge of a ridge on a gradual slope from 161m above OD down to 154m above OD, the site is immediately south-west of where the wold dips away steeply into Ganton Dale.

The Cretaceous chalk bedrock, which in the area of the site contained a high proportion of flint, was overlain by brown calcareous earths and associated loamy or clayey, flinty soils. As the site was near the wold top and in an area of intensive arable cultivation, these soils were particularly shallow, with little subsoil surviving below the ploughsoil.

Archaeological setting

The site of the excavations is within a rich archaeological landscape (Fig. 1), although few of the major features survive as extant earthworks and are now mostly recorded as

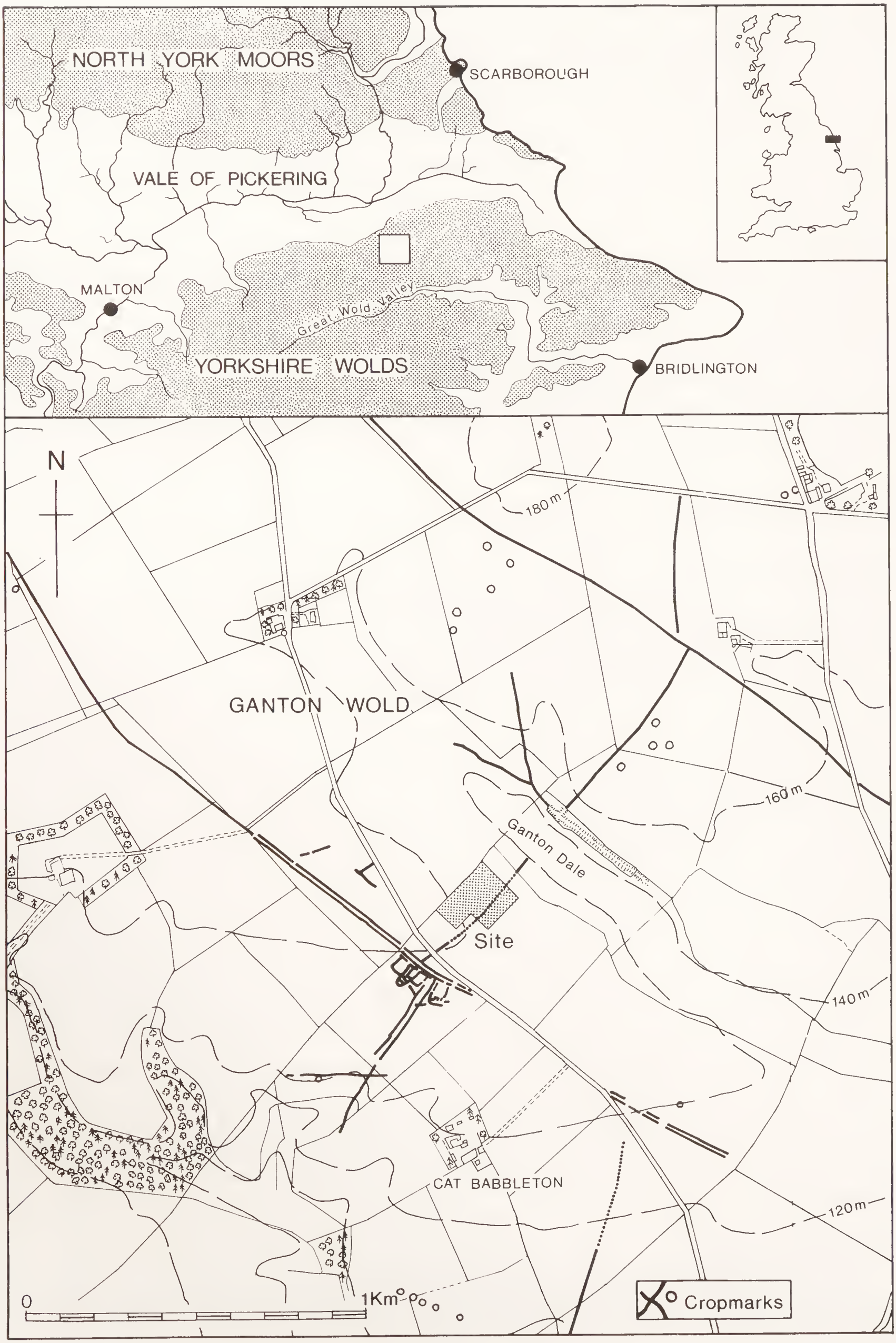


Fig. 1. Site location.

cropmarks from the air. Adjacent to the access road to the site a single round barrow is visible from the air as a ring ditch and on the ground as a low spread mound approximately 30m in diameter and 0.5m high (Fig. 2). This barrow is only one of many within the vicinity of the site, with groups of barrows located both to the north (Greenwell barrows XXIV-XXVIII) and north-east, while a further group is visible as ring ditches to the south of Cat Babbleton Farm. The linear boundaries within the area appear to have no direct association with any of these barrows, although some are aligned adjacent to barrow groups.

Linear boundaries in the form of dykes or ditches are a ubiquitous feature of the Yorkshire Wolds landscape. The boundary of which part was examined at Cat Babbleton appears to sub-divide a series of strips of land aligned north-west to south-east along the dry valleys, and defined by earthworks several kilometres in length based upon a single dyke running along the top of the Wolds escarpment. The boundary is orientated north-east to south-west, and composed of four almost continuous sections of pit alignment and ditch which transect a number of these strips of land. The excavations were towards the south-west end of this length, on part of a cross-ridge section between the head of a dry valley and where the boundary transversely bisects Ganton Dale. On the north-east side of Ganton Dale a short length of the same feature survives as an upstanding earthwork where it intersects with one of the north-west to south-east aligned dykes. A separate length of pit alignment and ditch is recorded as a cropmark to the south-east of Cat Babbleton Farm.

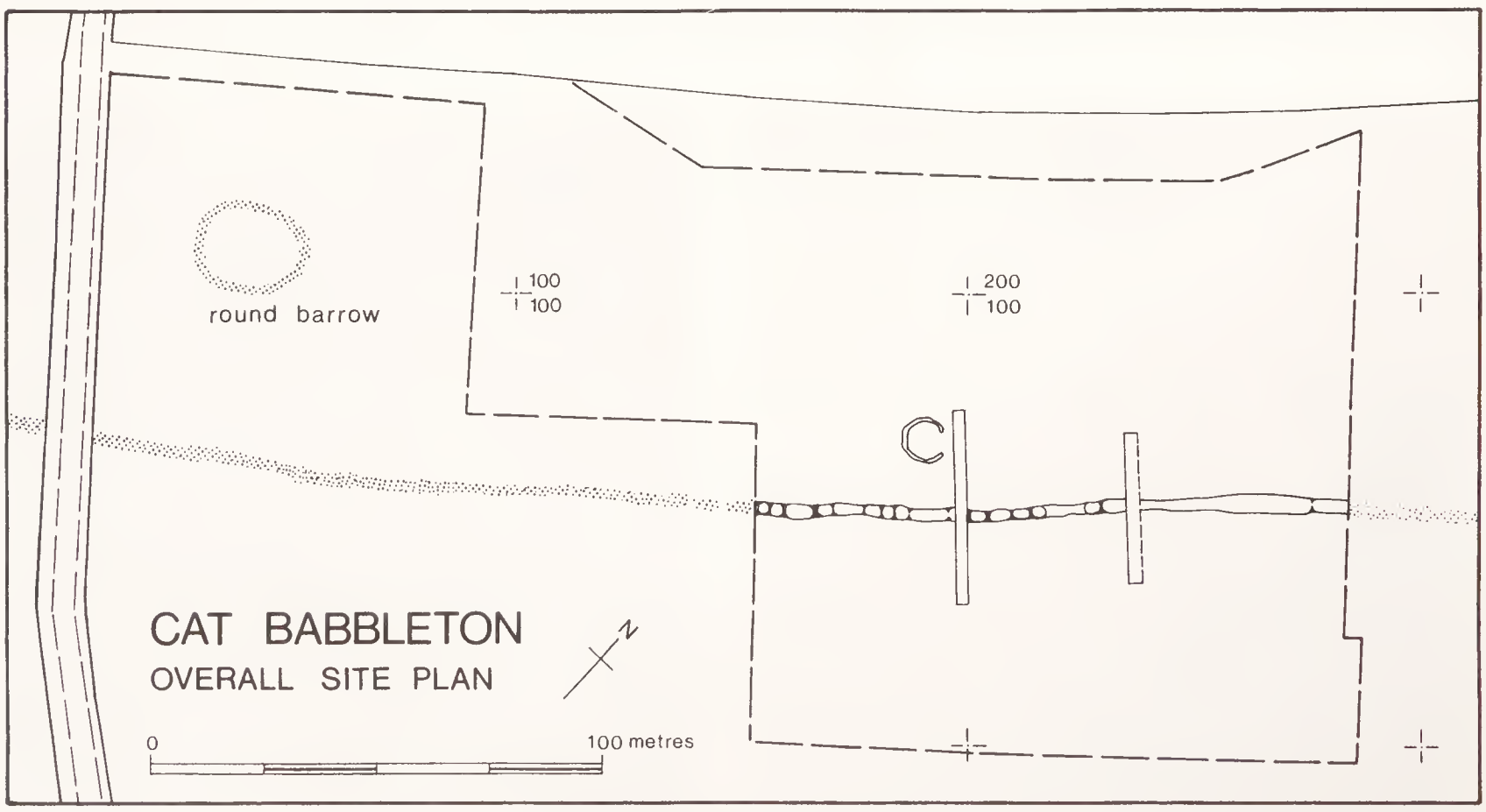


Fig. 2. Overall site plan.

To the south-west of the site the boundary feature examined appears to be related to a settlement area represented by a series of rectilinear enclosures. These enclosures are situated at the intersection of two linear boundaries which each define one side of trackways or droveways within the area of the settlement. This settlement at Cat Babbleton has been interpreted as being associated with a policy of deliberate land allotment to army veterans soon after the Roman Conquest of the region (Ramm 1978), although there is little corroborative evidence for this and similar features are known to be pre-Roman in origin (Dent 1983).

As part of this landscape the presence of a substantial length of pit alignment within the development area at Cat Babbleton offered a rare opportunity to investigate this type

of feature. The excavation aimed to assess the nature of this class of monument, and in particular determine its form, function and period of use. In addition, the relationship of the pit alignment to any other features within the site area would also be examined, both in order to elucidate the sequence of activity on the site, as well as the overall development of the landscape in the area.

EXCAVATION RESULTS

The topsoil was removed from the site by machine and under archaeological supervision. The method of removal and the nature of the soils meant that archaeological features were only recognisable where cut into the natural chalk bedrock. Two such features were immediately apparent, a landscape boundary and a ring gully.

A number of unstratified finds were made at this stage, mostly of lithic material. In excess of forty pieces were recovered, composed mainly of waste flakes, blades, scrapers and cores. The total assemblage represents no more than the background activity of the Neolithic and Bronze Age encountered on many sites on the Yorkshire Wolds.

Landscape boundary

As was anticipated from the aerial photographic evidence, the main feature of the site proved to be a landscape boundary. A 135m length of this feature was revealed within the site area (Fig. 2), aligned north-east to south-west, and was represented by what appeared to be a filled ditch (Plate 1). A continuous 65m length of this was examined in detail in the south-western half of the site (Fig. 3, Plate 2), this being the section that

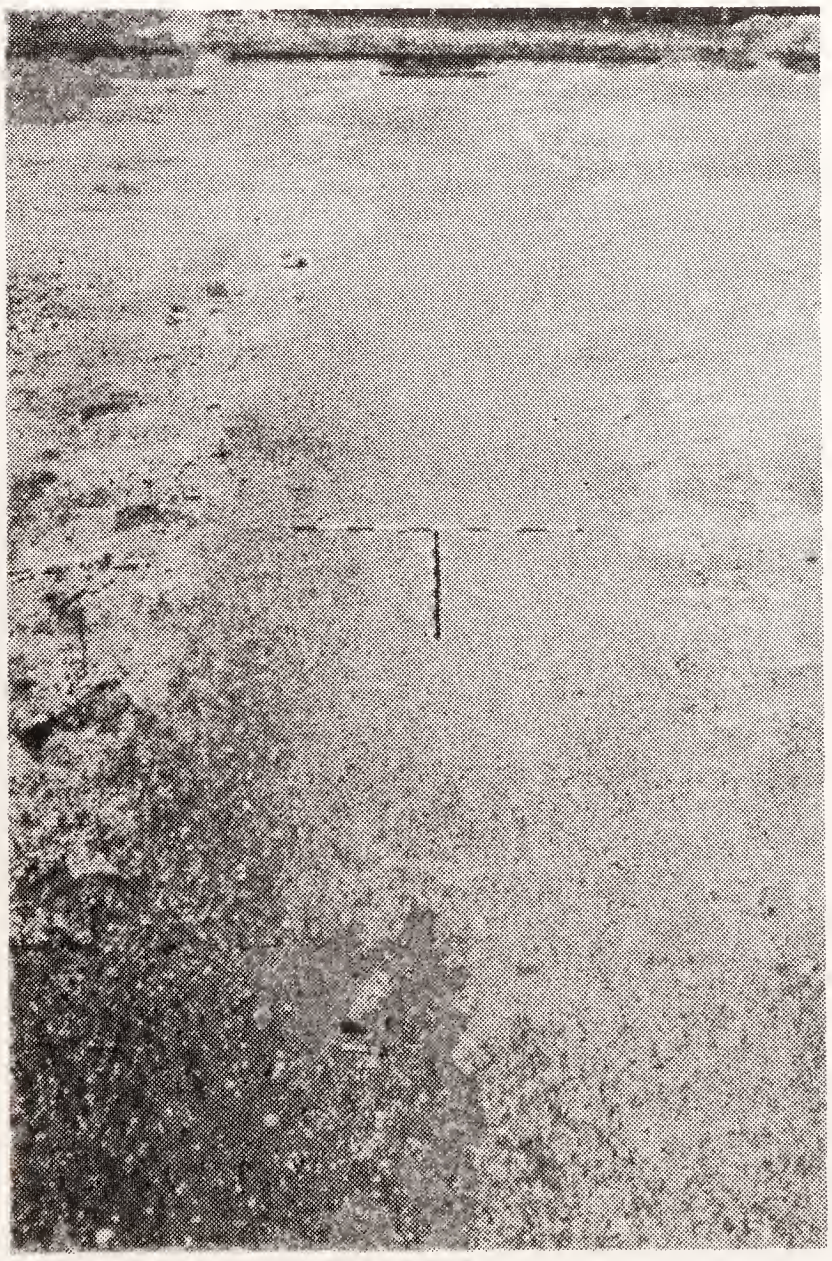


Plate 1. The landscape boundary visible as a ditch prior to excavation, from the north-east.



Plate 2. The pit alignment from the south-west after excavation.

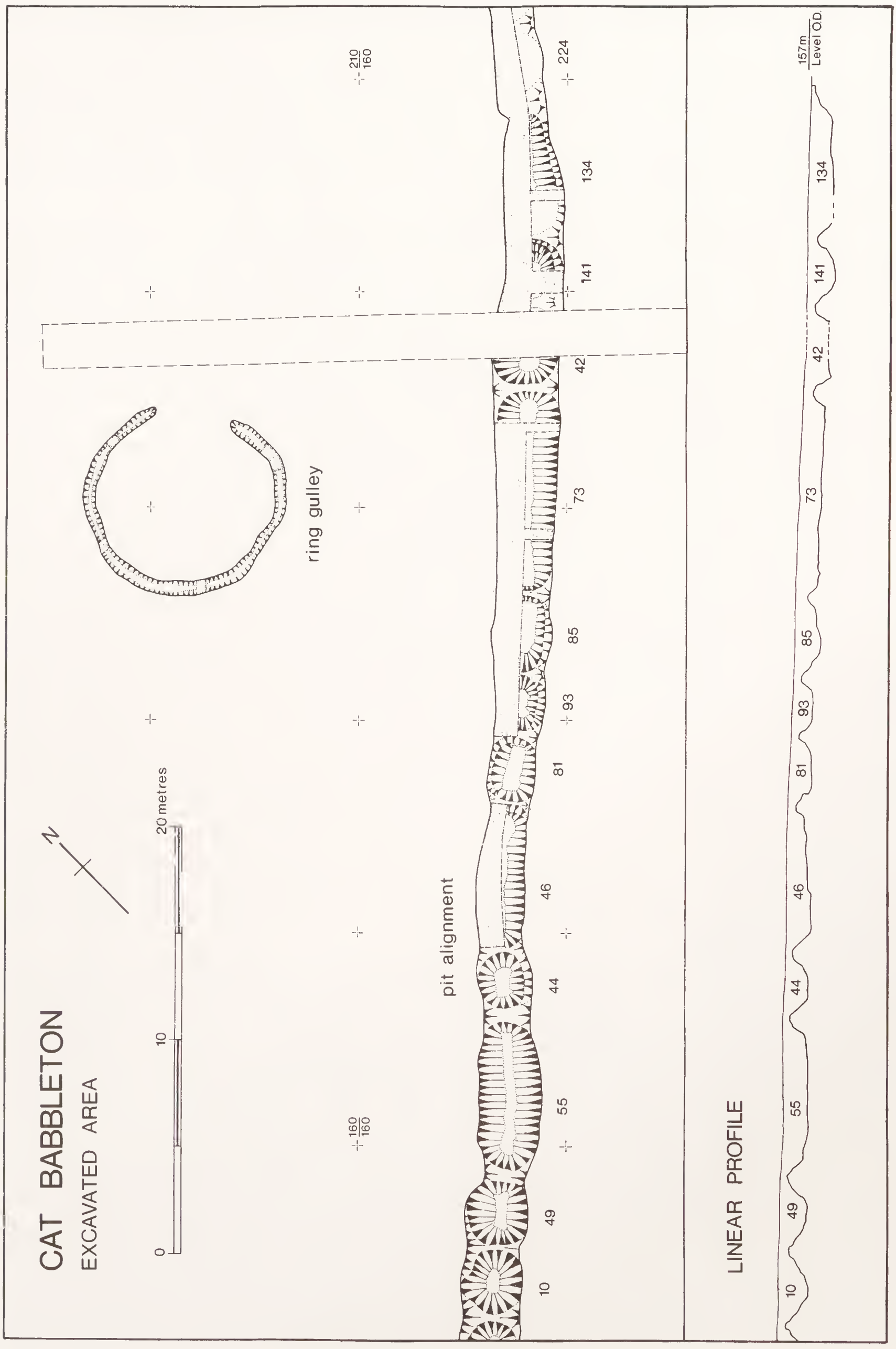


Fig. 3. Plan of excavated area.

would be totally destroyed when the site was levelled. To the north-east, where the downward slope gradually increased, only sample sections were excavated.

Within most of the area examined in detail, the south-eastern half of the feature was removed in order to obtain a continuous linear section along its length. The pit alignment was quickly established as the primary feature of the landscape boundary, and as the position of the individual pits could usually be determined from the shape of the ditch edge, the linear section was excavated in segments which aimed to obtain cross-sections of the feature both across the centre of each pit and across the upstanding chalk spine or causeway between them.

A total of eighteen pits were either totally or partially excavated within the areas of the feature examined. Two different types of pit were identified. The majority were relatively uniform in size, being sub-rectangular or ovate in plan, with the sides of each pit sloping down to a flat base of similar shape. These pits measured between 2.5m to 3.4m in length, 1.8m to 2.4m in width, and 1.0m to 1.3m in depth, and were closely spaced at regular intervals of between 0.3m to 0.6m (Fig. 4).

In six cases it appears that as a result of either weathering or deliberate recutting two or more pits may have been joined to produce longer pits of between 5.7m and 9.2m in length (Fig. 5). These dimensions would allow for the joining of two pits in all cases except pit 73, where three pits may have been linked together. However, in none of these cases did any trace of the original spine between the pits remain, so if the pits were deliberately linked together then this process involved a thorough re-cutting and cleaning of the feature. Suggestions that some of the pits were joined together may come from the slightly sinuous nature of the pit alignment. Within the excavated areas this was most apparent at the south-west end of the site, with slight changes in alignment occuring within pits 55 and 46, as well as between pits further to the north-east. The relatively short distances between these changes in alignment might suggest that the feature was constructed in short lengths by small 'gangs' of workmen, while the fact that the changes occur within some of the longer pits could suggest that these were formed by the joining of two or more pits. So although the evidence is somewhat inconclusive, the pit alignment may initially have consisted only of relatively uniform sub-rectangular pits, some of which were subsequently linked together. However, it cannot be discounted that the pit alignment was composed of pits of variable length in its original form.

At no point within the site was a deliberate causeway transecting the pit alignment apparent. The only gap of any size between the pits was one of about 1m between pits 134 and 224, and the presence of a band of solid flint in this area, which appears to account for the narrow and shallow north-east end of pit 134, is the most likely explanation for this.

Despite the scale of the feature and the amount of spoil that must have been produced from the pits during their initial excavation, no remnants of any banks along the side of the pit alignment were observed in baulks left across the area. However, immediately north-east of the site a short length of the same boundary feature still survives on the side of Ganton Dale as an earthwork (Fig. 2). Although disturbed by tree-planting, this is visible as a ditch approximately 0.4m deep with upstanding parallel banks approximately 0.5m high on either side.

Most of the pits contained between three and five fills of varied depth (Figs. 4 and 5). In all cases the primary fill appeared to represent a rapid erosion of the feature, producing a layer of mostly angular weathered chalk rubble over the base and lower edges of the pit, especially near the spines. The secondary fill was usually a layer of dark brown loam which contained occasional inclusions of chalk and flint gravel. Subsequent fills were mostly composed of alternating layers of varied proportions of chalk and flint gravel or loam. In almost every pit the fills were defined within the individual feature;

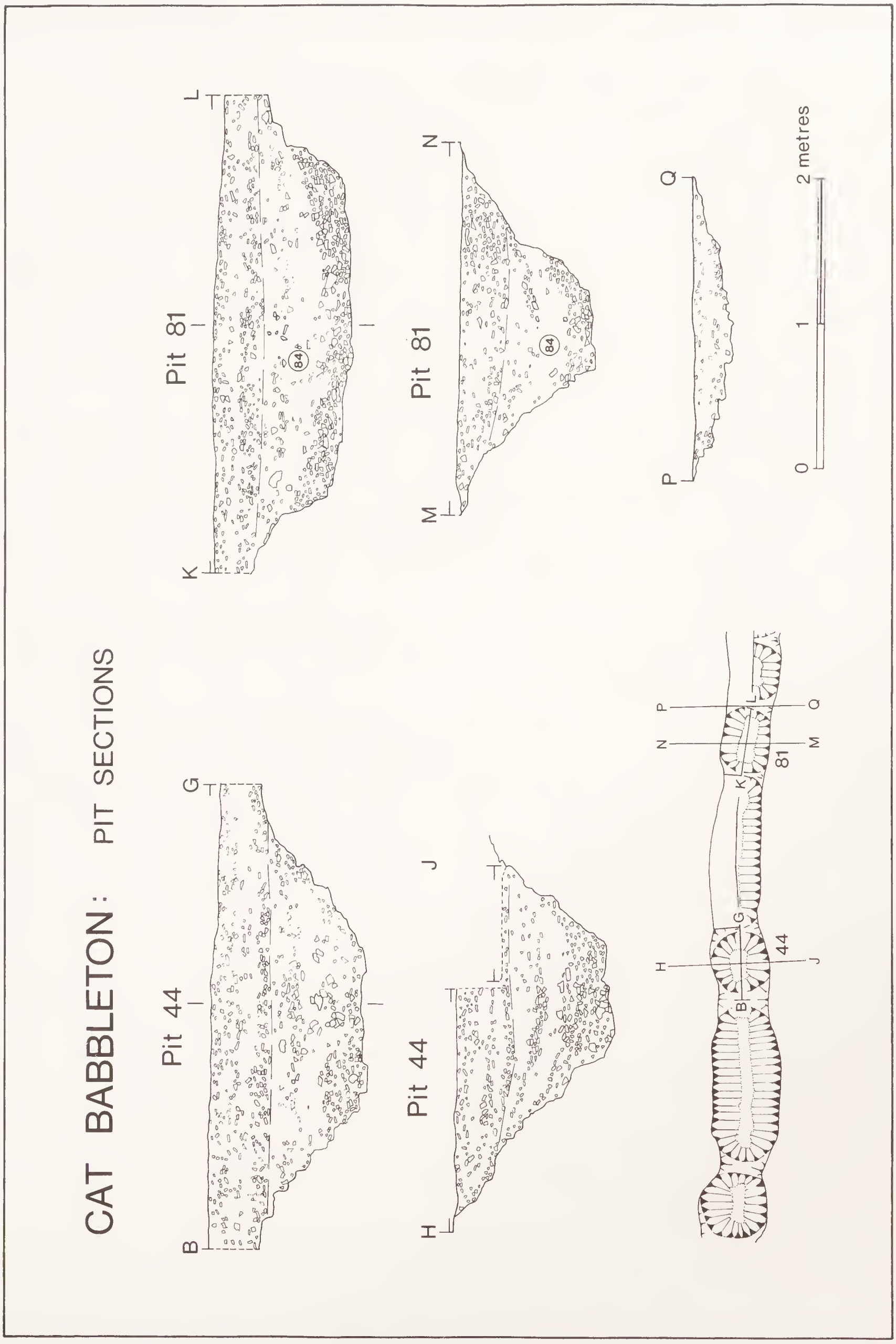


Fig. 4. Linear- and cross-sections of pits 44 and 81 (Finds from numbered contexts are referred to in the text).

only between pits 85 and 73 did a fill appear to lap over a spine, which in this case was particularly low, from one pit into another. None of the pits produced any evidence to suggest that they had ever contained posts.

Artefactual evidence, and particularly ceramic material, was recovered from a number of the pits, but not from any of the primary fills. Residual lithic material, which included a thumbnail scraper (188AA, Fig. 6) from pit 73, represents no more than background activity of the Neolithic and Bronze Age within the site area.

Of the twenty-seven sherds of pottery which make up the ceramic assemblage from the pit fills, none appear to be earlier than the late Iron Age. All other identifiable fabrics are wares dated from the second to the fourth centuries AD, and with the exception of a single abraded samian rim from pit 46, are composed of thirteen local native ware sherds and ten grey ware sherds. The grey ware fabrics are datable from the second to the early fourth century, with the likely sources of production being Throlam and Norton, and possibly also Crambeck. The majority consist of plain bodysherds, but three rim sherds were also recovered; that of a second century flanged bowl (110AA, Fig. 6) from pit 55, as well as rim sherds from pit 81 (84AB, Fig. 6) and pit 10.

Most of the local native wares consist of bodysherds datable to the third and fourth centuries, and in all cases the calcite tempering had dissolved out. The only diagnostic sherds recovered were a single Rudston Well type rim of the mid-late fourth century (84AD, Fig. 6) from the secondary fill of pit 81, and two rims from the same fourth century Huntcliff ware vessel (126AC, Fig. 6) from the upper fill of pit 134. The date of these particular sherds could suggest a reasonably rapid silting up of the pit alignment in the latter half of the fourth century.

In addition to this material, the only other artefact recovered from the pit fills was a white glass bangle fragment of Roman date (56AD, Fig. 6) from pit 55. This fragment, which is 45mm in length, has a maximum thickness of 13mm, a height of 8mm, and an internal diameter of 62mm.

The faunal material recovered included a small assemblage of eighteen bone fragments, which were in a poor state of preservation and not readily identifiable. Cattle, horse and dog were all represented, the latter including most of a small to medium sized dog skull from pit 10. No examples of worked bone were found, and only one fragment showed any evidence of burning. The snail shells recovered from the pit fills are insufficient in terms of numbers or species to permit any environmental analysis of the site. Most of the shells are of *Cepaea nemoralis*, with a few specimens of *Helicella itala*, and were collected from a number of primary pit fills. Four individuals of *Cecilioides acicula* were also recovered in a sample from pit 81. All three species are commonly found on calcareous grassland sites.

In its final phase the pit alignment was replaced by a ditch. In plan this reflected both the overall form of the pit alignment, as well as the shape of the individual pits below it. So although slightly broader than the pit alignment, the ditch being up to 3m wide over the pits, in some cases it narrowed to about 2m over the spines between them. The feature was accordingly excavated in linear segments which primarily aimed to section the pits below. The ditch proved to be a shallow feature which only linked the upper levels of each pit. The depth of the feature, which had a flat-based U-shaped profile, was again influenced by the pit alignment below. Although only 0.3m to 0.4m deep across the chalk spines between the pits, in a number of cases this increased up to a depth of 0.6m over the pits themselves.

The pit alignment therefore continued to dominate the form of the landscape boundary. There does not appear to have been a thorough re-cutting of the alignment which attempted to completely remove all the spines between the individual pits and so form a continuous ditch at the base of the feature. That the spines between the pits are lower than the chalk surface on either side could simply be the result of weathering. So

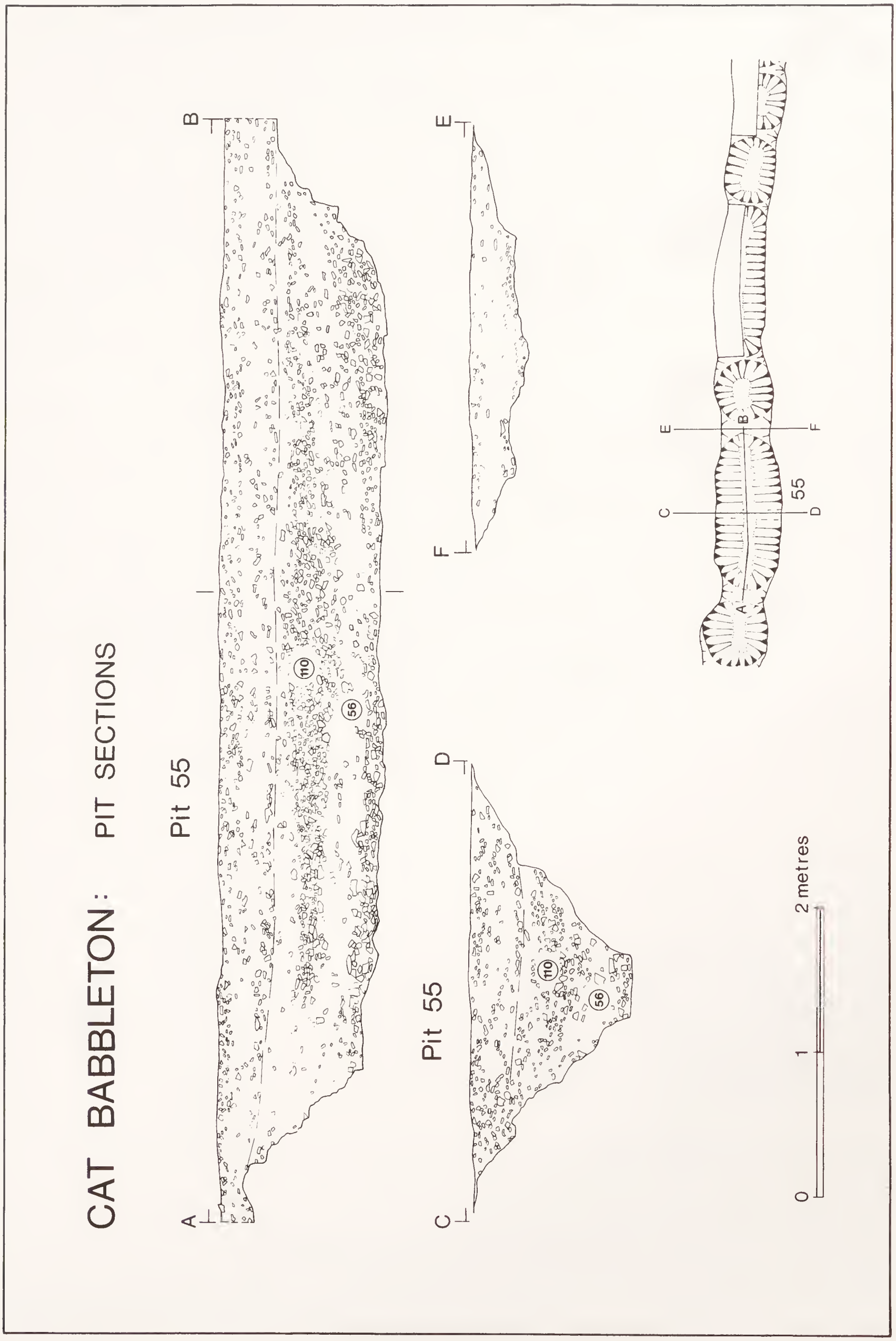


Fig. 5. Linear- and cross-section of pit 55 (Finds from numbered contexts are referred to in the text).

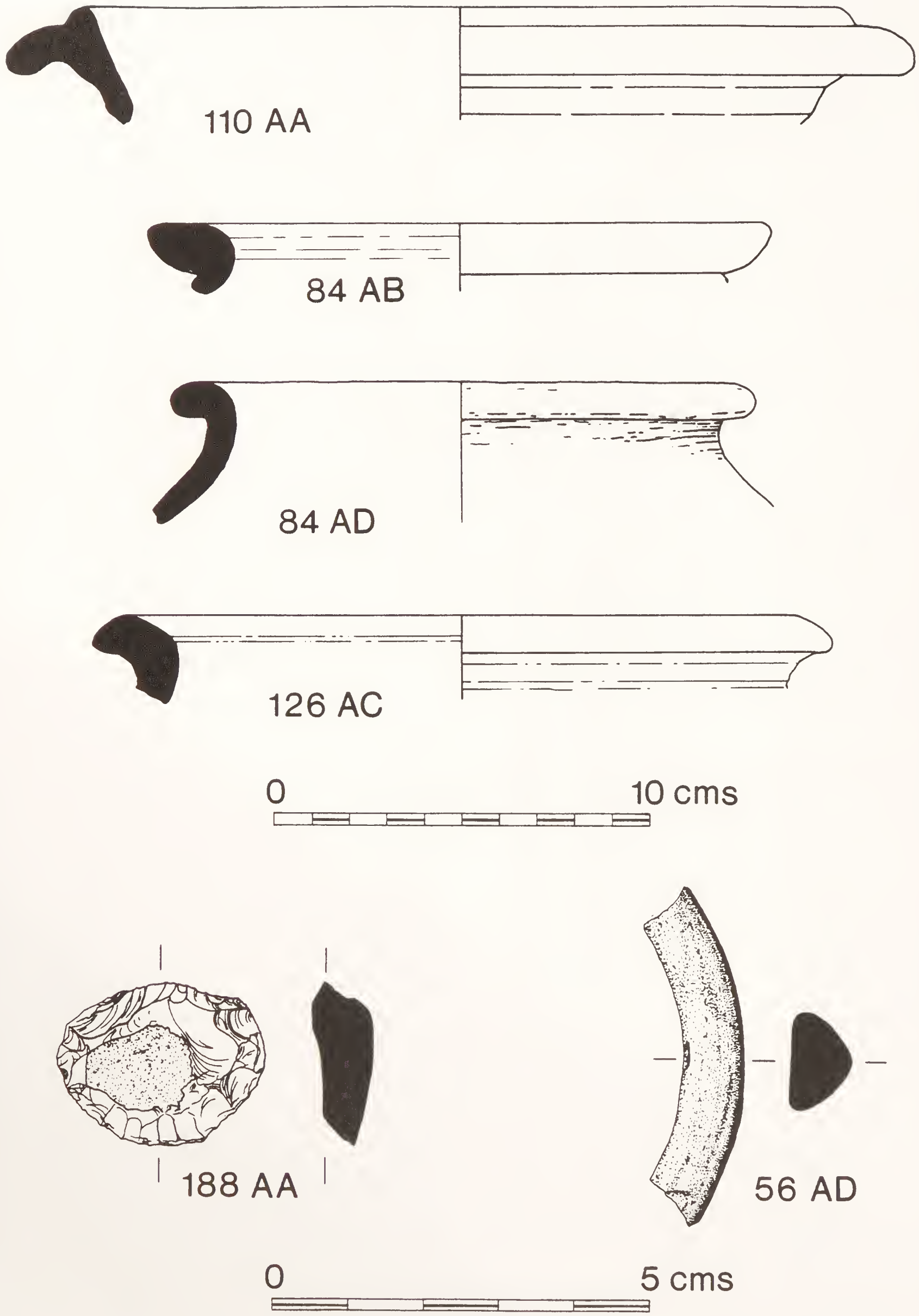


Fig. 6. Pottery and other artefacts.

although visible in plan as a ditch, this feature is probably no more than a superficial re-cutting or cleaning of the pit alignment, rather than a deliberate attempt to re-define the landscape boundary in a different form.

The ditch contained a number of thin fills composed mainly of alternating layers of varied proportions of chalk and flint gravel or loam. The artefactual evidence from these fills was sparse. Further residual lithic material was recovered, which included blades and a core. Only six sherds of pottery were found, which as in the pits were predominantly Roman in date. A sandstone hone, 7.5cm long and 5.5cm wide, was also recovered from the ditch.

In view of the lack of evidence suggesting otherwise, a date at the end of the Roman period is also presumed for this final stage of the landscape boundary. However, as a few of the pottery sherds recovered from the feature could possibly be Anglian in date, it cannot be totally discounted that the boundary continued to function as an element of land division into the post-Roman period.

Ring gully

The only other feature evident within the site area was a ring gully, centred 15m north of the south-west end of the pit alignment. This was sub-circular in plan, approximately 9.5m in diameter, and had a 3.5m wide entrance on the east side (Fig. 3). The gully was excavated in segments which revealed a round-based V-shaped profile between 40cm and 60cm wide, and 15cm to 35cm deep. The feature was cut into soft rounded chalk and shattered flint, and filled with a silty clayey loam containing angular flint inclusions. A number of depressions in the base of the gully appeared to be solution hollows. No internal or external evidence of post holes or other features were evident, and the ring gully therefore appears to represent a structure of which all other evidence has been removed through continuous ploughing or erosion.

The only artefacts recovered from the ring gully were a few crumbs of pottery, probably prehistoric in date, and three flint flakes. Finds from within the vicinity of the feature included further lithic material, and a single abraded late Roman bronze coin.

CONCLUSION

The excavations at Cat Babbleton centred upon the investigation of the major landscape boundary feature across the site, which as was anticipated proved to be a pit alignment. Initially this may either have consisted only of sub-rectangular pits of relatively uniform size, some of which were subsequently joined together to form longer pits, or was composed of pits of variable length in its original form. Although possibly constructed in the late Iron Age, it is evident that the feature predominantly functioned as an element of land division during the Roman period. A more accurate date for the construction of the boundary is only likely to be obtained from an examination of where it survives as an earthwork on the daleside to the north-east of the site. The pit alignment would therefore appear to be contemporary with the possible Romano-British settlement to the south-west of the site.

Evidence recovered during the excavations suggest that the pit alignment silted up in the latter half of the fourth century, but that subsequently the upper levels of the pits were linked to form a shallow ditch. This probably represents a superficial cleaning of an already eroded feature rather than a deliberate attempt to re-define the pit alignment in a different form. A late Roman date is presumed for this last phase of the landscape boundary, although the feature may have continued as an element of land division into the post-Roman period before its final abandonment.

Pit alignments have for some time been recognised as a particular form of landscape

boundary which occur within a number of regions of the British Isles (Wilson 1978), but despite the widespread nature of this type of feature within north-east Yorkshire, excavated examples are few. The excavations at Cat Babbleton were not only a rare opportunity to examine this form of monument, but also represent the greatest single length of pit alignment investigated on the Yorkshire Wolds.

The form of the pit alignment at Cat Babbleton, although similar to some of the few other excavated examples in the area, particularly those at Fimber and Heslerton, is not exactly parallel to any of them. The single sub-rectangular pit revealed in a section across an earthwork at Fimber (Ehrenberg and Capel 1985) is most similar to the pits at Cat Babbleton in plan, but was somewhat smaller. The pits which initially formed the major boundary feature on Site 1 at Heslerton in the Vale of Pickering(Powlesland 1986) were square in plan and slightly smaller, as well as being deeper and with greater intervals between the pits. Of the four lengths of pit alignment surviving as earthworks on the Tabular Hills (Spratt, forthcoming), the pits at Jingleby are most similar in size and plan to those excavated at Cat Babbleton. Some of the pits at Givendale Head, although smaller in size, appear to have merged together to form an alignment made up of pits of variable size, as at Cat Babbleton (Mytum 1984). However, the precise form and dimensions of individual pits within alignments is likely to be as dependant upon the geology of the area as any other factors.

The Cat Babbleton excavations further emphasised that although pit alignments can be identified as a particular class of monument, it is not readily possible to separate them from other linear earthworks, in the form of ditches or 'entrenchments', which have long been recognised as a ubiquitous feature of the landscape in north-east Yorkshire (Mortimer 1905). Both appear to have served the same function as landscape boundaries, and aerial photographic evidence indicates that pit alignments and ditches often form different sections of the same linear feature, as in the area of Cat Babbleton. Indeed, it may be misleading to make any differentiation between the form of pit alignments and ditches when the purpose of both was usually the construction of a parallel bank. Although excavation suggests that where there is a direct association between the two, pit alignments invariably pre-date ditches, the form of the later ditch varies from a shallow feature linking the pits at their upper levels, as at Cat Babbleton, to the effective replacement of the pit alignment by a continuous ditch, as at Heslerton. Recent studies of the North York Moors and Tabular Hills (Spratt 1982; forthcoming) suggest a similar correlation between pit alignments and dykes.

Although a form of land division, the length of pit alignment examined at Cat Babbleton did not produce any evidence to establish the type of agricultural economy practised in the locality. However, the dyke systems of the Yorkshire Wolds have for some time been interpreted as evidence of pastoral farming, or regarded as divisions between pastoral and arable areas within a mixed farming economy (Challis and Harding 1975). As pit alignments appear to have formed an integral part of this system, then they must originally have been associated with an additional feature such as a thick hedge in order to create an effective barrier to stock.

The accurate dating of landscape boundary features has always been a fundamental problem. Although there is some evidence that the division of the Wolds landscape was a process that began as early as the late Bronze Age (Manby 1980), the major linear earthworks continued to be extensively elaborated by later additions and sub-divisions. Along the north edge of the Yorkshire Wolds and in the Vale of Pickering it has been argued (Powlesland, 1988) that a series of territories based upon the nodal settlements of Staple Howe and Devil's Hill, which date to the late Bronze/early Iron Age, were defined by a distinctive 'square' pit type of alignment, as excavated at Heslerton and Sherburn. However, although somewhat similar in form, the pit alignment at Cat

Babbleton has been proved by excavation to be markedly later in date. While pit alignments of Roman date have been excavated in a number of areas in northern England (Challis and Harding 1975), those in north-east Yorkshire from both Wetwang Slack (Dent, pers. comm) and Heslerton are of a less substantial nature than that at Cat Babbleton. It is therefore evident that the various types of pit alignment are not necessarily exclusive to any one period. On the Yorkshire Wolds, at least, the form of pit alignments or individual pits cannot be regarded as a good indicator of date and any typological separation on the basis of size and shape may therefore be premature. So until further research and excavation has been carried out, the pit alignment must continue to be regarded as a particular type of landscape boundary which was constructed in various forms that were common to a number of different periods.

Acknowledgements

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The site archive is held by the Landscape Research Centre Ltd, The Old Abbey, Yedingham, Malton, North Yorkshire.

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EXCAVATIONS AT HELMSLEY CASTLE

By P. R. Wilson

The surviving elements of Helmsley Castle (Fig. 1) betray a long and complex development; the basic *enceinte* and the lower stages of the keep belong to the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[1] The massive inner and outer ditches that surround the site, which have been assumed to have been dry by most recent authorities,[2] are generally thought to be of a similar date to the earliest stone defences, although it has been suggested that there may have been an earlier earthwork castle on the site.[3] The second significant constructional phase dates to the mid-thirteenth century which, in the surviving remains, is primarily represented by the defences of the northern and southern barbicans. Elsewhere in the castle, structural elements of various phases can be traced culminating in the extensive remodelling of the domestic accommodation by Edward Manners in the second half of the sixteenth century. A line of rough foundations that crosses the courtyard between the west tower and the keep probably represents the last major phase of construction on the site.[4]

Peers suggested that both the north-western and south-eastern approaches to the castle were further protected by outer baileys;[5] l'Anson having previously described a northern outer ward that was '... rectangular in form, defended by a ditch with scarp and counterscarp banks of varying width.' (that) '... measured some 300 feet square, and was probably added by Robert de Roos c.1200'.[6] Support for this view is provided by the 1912 edition of the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map which shows an embanked enclosure to the north of the northern barbican. A proposal to construct a car-park to the north of the castle made it necessary for the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England's Central Excavation Unit to investigate the field between Otterburn Lane and the area in the Commission's care (Fig. 1); the assumed location of the northern 'outer bailey' (SE 610837). A geophysical survey undertaken by the Commission's Ancient Monuments Laboratory[7] suggested that there might be traces of occupation in the area to the east of the substantial earthwork that crossed the field on a north-west to south-east line and which may have formed the eastern side of the defences of an outer bailey.

The Excavation (Fig. 1)

To the east of the earthwork, a machine-cut trench (site sub-division 1) excavated across the area of the northernmost of the geophysical anomalies revealed no features of archaeological interest. In the south-eastern corner of the threatened area a trench was cut across the area that produced the second geophysical response (site sub-division 2);

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1. Peers, C., *Helmsley Castle, North Yorkshire. Official handbook* (1966), p. 3.
2. McDonnell, J., *A history of Helmsley Rievaulx and district* (1963), p. 135. However, Eastmead noted a tradition 'that the waters of the Rye were conducted through the ditches', Eastmead, W., *Historia Rievallensis* (1824) p. 407.
3. l'Anson, W. M., 'The Castles of the North Riding', *Y.A.J.* 22 (1913), pp. 303-399 [Helmsley pp. 352-6]. Also North Yorkshire County Sites and Monuments Record, number 00525.03000.
4. Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
6. l'Anson, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-6.
7. Bartlett, A., *Report on geophysical survey at Helmsley Castle, N. Yorks, 1983,* Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report G 11/83.

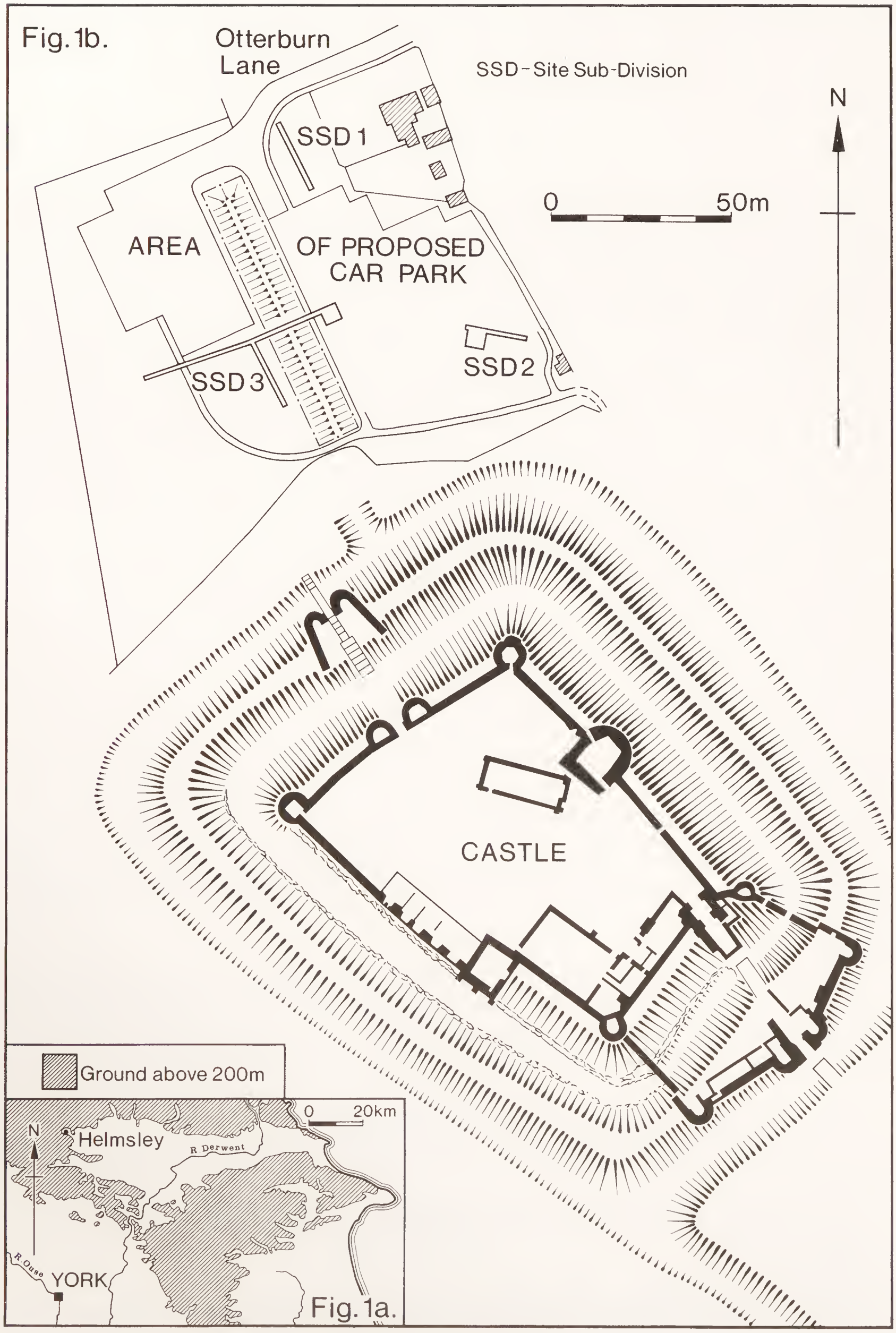


Fig. 1a – Location Map.
Fig. 1b General plan of Helmsley Castle (after Peers) showing threatened area and excavated trenches.

a 5m square area was also cleared by machine close to the western end of the trench on its southern side. The cleared area contained no archaeological features, although the trench did produce a profile through a ditch and a possible bank in the area of the geophysical response (Fig. 2b). The ditch (feature 14) was shown to have been recut three times, becoming slightly shallower on each occasion, its initial depth being 0.92m, becoming 0.63m in the latest recut. Ditch 14 was cut through a layer of sandy loam, layer 21, which may have represented the disturbed subsoil of the site. Layer 21 did not reappear on the eastern side of the ditch, the lowest levels there being two layers of clay loam (layers 16 and 17). Above layer 21, layers 20 and 19 could either have originated as fills of an early version of ditch 14, or as elements of an upcast bank (feature 22) that had either been deposited on the upper slope of the ditch edge, or, perhaps more probably, had slipped, or been washed, into the upper part of the ditch. The section through the ditch did not produce any dating evidence and it is probable that both it and the possible bank were related to the bowling green of unknown date reported to have occupied the area to within living memory.[8]

A trench was cut across the major earthwork referred to above and was carried beyond it to the west for 36m (site sub-division 3). A 5m square area was stripped by

Fig. 2a.

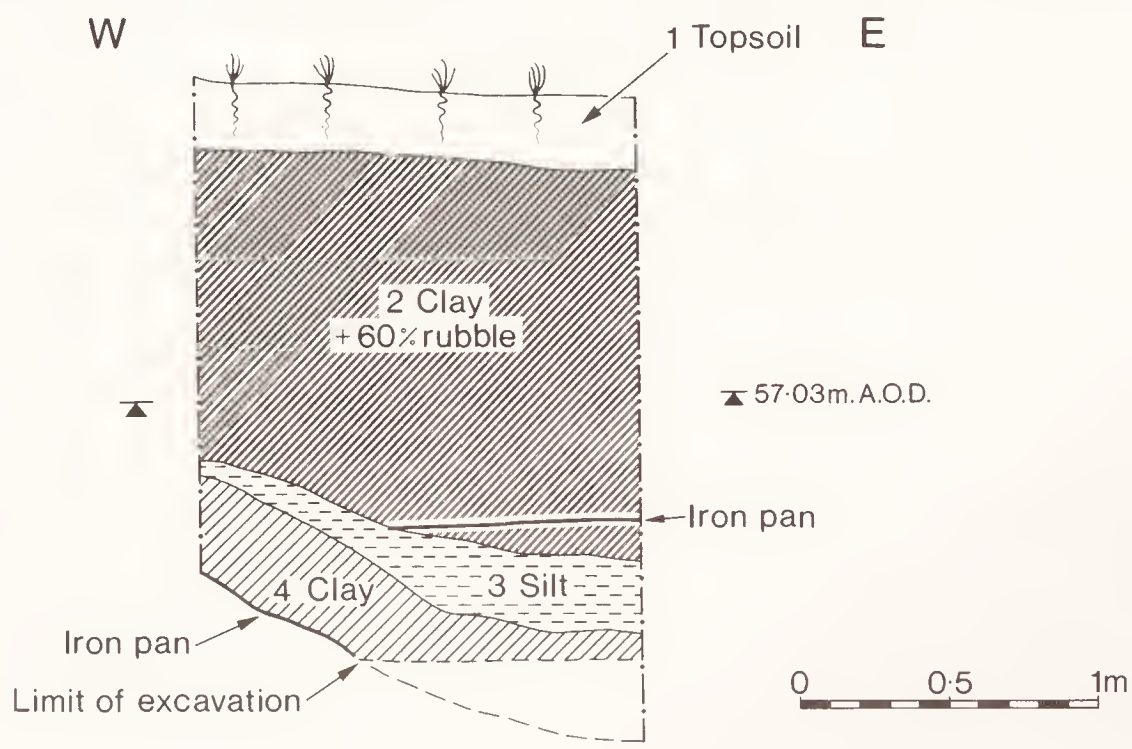


Fig. 2b.

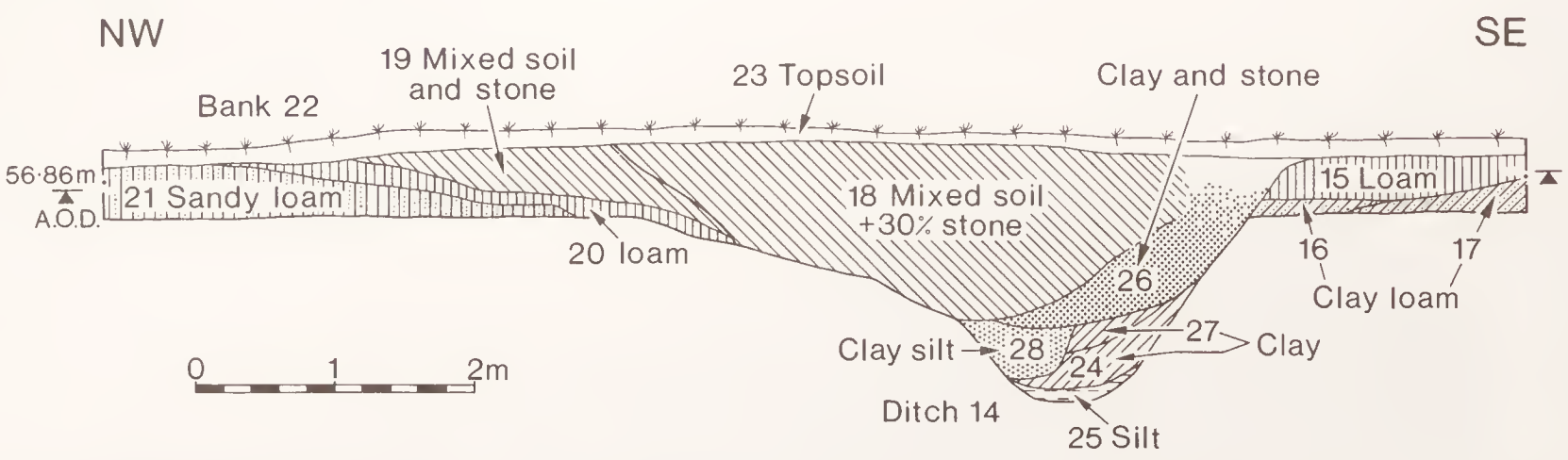


Fig. 2a – Section through southern part of leat 12 – site sub-division 3.
Fig. 2b – Section of trench forming site sub-division 2.

8. Information from Mr. J. Leat, H.B.M.C.(E) staff.

machine at the foot of the eastern side of the bank and a second trench was carried south for 20m at right-angles to the main trench on the west side of the bank. The 5m square area and the western end of the main trench were shown to contain no features of archaeological interest. The bank was shown to have been preceded by a shallow V-shaped ditch the fill of which was indistinguishable from the layer of brown clay that the rampart sealed (Fig. 3). The ditch, feature 11, was c.1.40 wide and was cut into the subsoil to depth of c.0.70m. A shallow mound was recorded lying on the clay (layer 7) above the southern edge of the ditch (feature 6). The material forming the mound appeared to be mixed subsoil and clay, suggesting that it derived from the ditch, however the lack of any recognisable cut through the buried soil and the fact that the mound overlay the eastern edge of the ditch make this doubtful. It is possible that either, or both, of the ditch and mound represent 'marking-out' features for the substantial bank that sealed them (feature 13). The material forming the latter feature did not have a clear interface with the material of the smaller mound, suggesting that there was no great time lapse between the construction of the two features. If feature 6 did represent a 'marking-out' prior to the construction of bank 13 it is possible that the material forming it could have been derived from the upper part of feature 12, the substantial ditch or leat recorded to the west of the bank, rather than from ditch 11. Bank 13 consisted of upcast subsoil, lying in clear, west to east, 'tip-lines', reflecting the origin of the material within feature 12. Overall, bank 13 was 12m wide and 2.40m high, with a c.30 degree slope on its western side and a shallower, c.20 degree slope to its eastern edge. The top of the bank was fairly flat, the level area being c.1.20m wide.

To the west of bank 13 was a 7.10m wide ditch or leat (feature 12) which appeared to have the remnants of a clay lining on its bottom and sides (layer 10 in Fig. 3). A profile

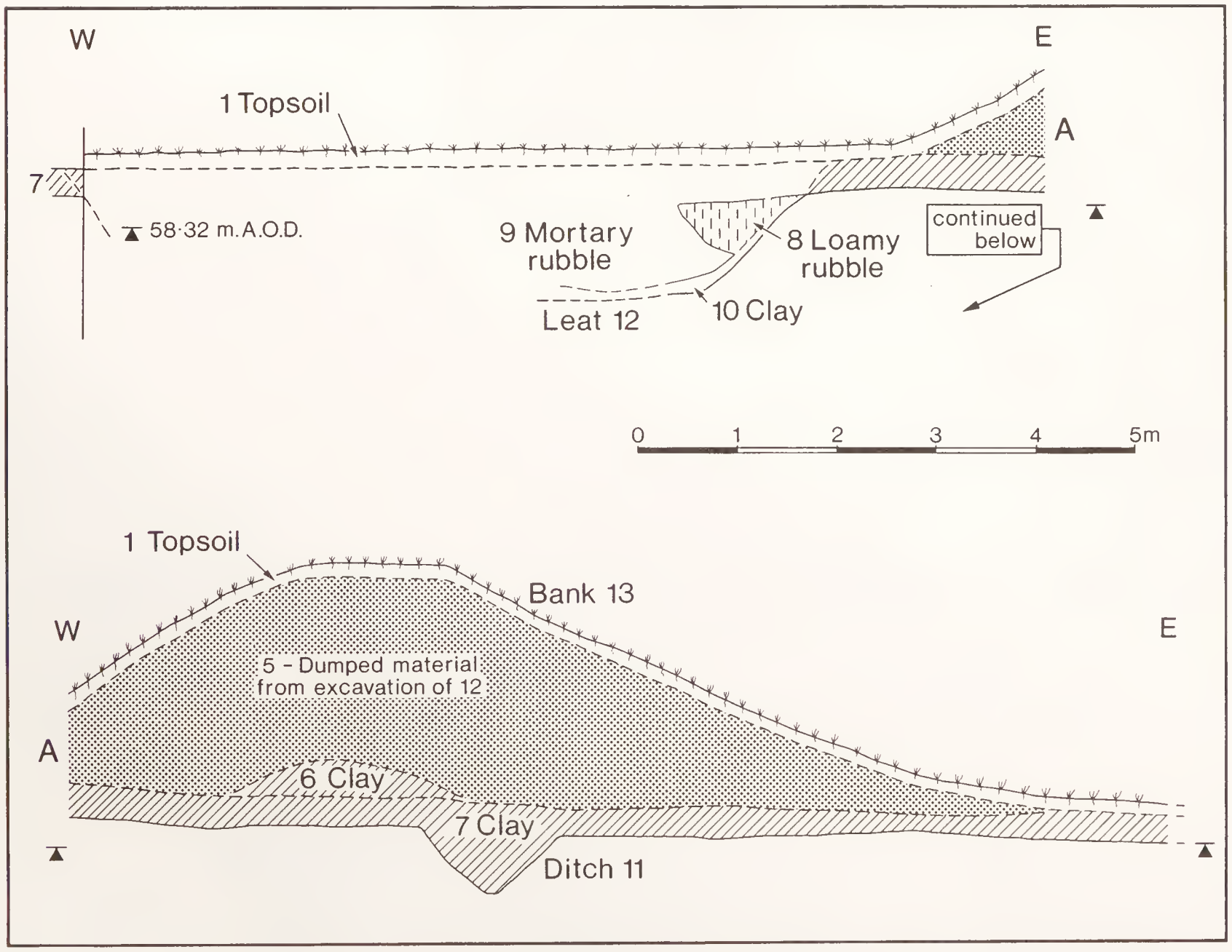


Fig. 3. Main section through leat 12 and bank 13 – site sub-division 3.

(Fig. 2a) was drawn across the trench excavated at right-angles to the main section, it showed the clay lining (layer 4 in Fig. 2a) to be sealed by a 0.25m thick layer of silt (layer 3) (Fig. 2a). The overall depth of feature 12 recorded in Fig. 2a was 1.95m and the bottom of the feature was shown to fall to the south by up to 1.80m between the two sections. In Fig. 2a, as in Fig. 3, the bulk of the depth of the leat was filled by masonry rubble that was presumably derived from the main body of the castle following its slighting by Parliamentary forces in 1644.[9] It ought to be noted that no ashlar blocks were recorded in either of the cuttings, these presumably being removed for reuse elsewhere.

The site did not produce any finds.

It would appear certain that feature 12 represents a leat supplying water to the outer ditch surrounding the main body of the castle. The 1:10,560 Ordnance Survey map appears to show a second earthwork parallel to bank 13 to the west of the line of the leat. No evidence of a western bank was found during the excavation, nor does one appear on the 1912 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey map; however local residents recall the existence of an earthwork at this point to within living memory.[10] Bank 13 could not be traced beyond the northern edge of the threatened area. Despite this it would seem likely that the leat brought water into the outer ditch of the castle from springs located on the hill slope some 300-400m to the north-west, although a possible alternative source of water might have been the Borough Beck to the north-east of the castle. The evidence of the excavation does nothing to prove or disprove the existence of an outer ward, as suggested by l'Anson and the 1912 Ordnance Survey map.

Bank 13 was largely avoided during the subsequent development and was left as a feature within the car-park.[11]

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank D. M. C. Bartlett and A. W. Holmes for undertaking the fieldwork that forms the basis of this report.

9. Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
10. *op. cit.* note 8.
11. The archive from the site will be deposited in the Yorkshire Museum.

A TWELFTH-CENTURY 'SCOTTISH' CHARTER CONCERNING YORKSHIRE

By K. J. Stringer

The charter printed below is deposited in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, among the Register House Charters, a miscellaneous collection based on documents accumulated in the nineteenth century from diverse sources.[1] It can be found there presumably because the grantor was believed to be identical with the great Anglo-Norman magnate Richard de Morville (d. 1189/90), lord of Cunningham in Ayrshire and Lauderdale in Berwickshire, who served as hereditary Constable in the royal households of Malcolm IV and William the Lion, successive kings of Scots from 1153 to 1214. In 1947 the charter was referred to in passing by Dr. D. E. Easson, who included it in an unsystematic list of the Constable's surviving written acts.[2] This attribution, as will appear, must be discounted as erroneous, but that does not detract from the intrinsic interest of the document, one of comparatively few twelfth-century charters relating to Yorkshire that are extant in the original and hitherto remain unpublished.

It can safely be said that in his *acta* the Constable normally used his title of 'Constable of the king of Scots (*or* of Scotland)'.[3] The present charter lacks this style. It has an obvious Yorkshire context, however. The beneficiary is St Peter's (otherwise St Leonard's) Hospital at York, which admitted the grantor and his family into all its benefits and prayers. Richard 'de Colingham' is the subject of the grant. Given to the hospital 'with his whole land both in assarts and in bovates', he took his name from the village and parish of Collingham, near Wetherby. The witness list is dominated by men with known Yorkshire associations: Thomas son of Jollan of Kipling Cotes, Geoffrey the clerk of Bootham, Jocelin de Arci (Darcy), Marmaduke Darel, William 'de Hispania' and Stephen the priest of Thorner. Jocelin de Arci held lordship at Acaster Selby in the honour of Eye, and his wife Helewise de Clere had founded the small Benedictine priory of Yedingham by 1163.[4] Marmaduke Darel is to be identified with the ancestor of the line of Darel of Sessay and Hutton Sessay, or else with his nephew and namesake of Wheldrake.[5] William 'de Hispania' belonged to a family which hailed originally from Epaignes in the canton of Cormeilles, between Lisieux and Pont-Audemer in central Normandy, and had gained estates in Yorkshire and Essex as tenants of the honour of Richmond.[6]

Now there is no denying that by the 1150s or '60s St Peter's Hospital was actively

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1. On the origins of this collection, see M. Livingstone, *A Guide to the Public Records of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 191. I am grateful to Dr. G. G. Simpson for this reference.
2. *Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, ed. D. E. Easson (Scottish Hist. Soc., 1947), i, p. 2.
3. Cf., e.g., *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1847), nos. 7, 8, 97; *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros* (Bannatyne Club, 1837), i, nos. 94, 106-8; *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843), i, nos. 44-5; *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus*, etc., ed. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1739), nos. 75A, 75B.
4. *EYC* i, nos. 611, 612 note; iii, nos. 1854-6.
5. C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Families* (YAS, Rec. Ser., 1973), p. 24; *VCH, Yorkshire, North Riding*, i, pp. 447-9; *EYC* xi, no. 165 and pp. 336-7.
6. *EYC* v, pp. 230-1; G. W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), p. 95.

seeking support from the chief nobles in the Scots king's affinity,[7] some of whom were closely tied by marriage and landholding to northern England. Two early benefactors of the hospital were in point of fact leading officers of the Scots royal household. Walter son of Alan, who served as first Steward of Scotland from *c.*1136 to 1177, contributed two bovates, a toft and an annual rent of five shillings at Legerwood in Berwickshire,[8] while Ranulf de Sules the elder, founder of a dynasty of royal Butlers, granted a full carucate in his land of Liddesdale in Roxburghshire.[9] In about 1185 William the Lion himself assisted St Peter's with two and a half carucates in the territory of Dumfries and Conheath (in Caerlaverock parish), and conceded that all the hospital's men dwelling there should be quit of toll and custom, unless any of them traded as merchants.[10] It is also the case that Richard de Morville the Constable, a major Anglo-Scottish proprietor, held an important Yorkshire estate based on Burton in Lonsdale, in the honour of Mowbray, through his marriage by 1170 to Avice daughter of William of Lancaster (I), lord of south Westmorland.[11] Moreover, members of the Constable's immediate family demonstrably supported St Peter's in their capacities as northern English landowners. His sister Maud de Morville made a gift of all her land of 'Garethorn' in Westmorland, later the site of one of the hospital's granges and now represented by Gaythorn Hall in Asby and Gaythorn Plain in Crosby Ravensworth, on the understanding that the grant would be ratified by Hugh de Morville, her brother and lord, within six months of his return to England.[12] Hugh (d. 1172/3), one of the murderers of Archbishop Thomas Becket,[13] was lord of north Westmorland and like his (younger?) brother the Constable he was prominent in Yorkshire circles proper, for he had control of the manors of Knaresborough and Aldborough.[14] He confirmed to St Peter's grants in Crosby Ravensworth by Thorphin of Allerston and Thorphin's son Alan, and added the concession that the brethren of the hospital and their men should

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7. The surviving muniments of St Peter's Hospital form an exceptionally rich source. I have consulted the house's two surviving cartularies (British Library, MS Cotton Nero D. iii, and Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson B. 455), as well as Roger Dodsworth's extracts, 1632, from the lost third cartulary (Bodl. Lib., MS Dodsworth 120 B, fos. 49r-104v), on which see D. E. Greenway, 'A lost cartulary of St Leonard's Hospital, York', *YAJ* xlii (1971), pp. 178-80. The documentation of this paragraph, however, is based on exemplifications of charters in Public Record Office, C. 47/22/4(8); C. 53/80, memb. 5, 9; C. 53/93, memb. 8, which furnish important supplementary material. Throughout I have cited the best modern editions available.
8. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1903-27), iii, p. 90; *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, Volume II: *The Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165-1214*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1971), no. 103.
9. *Reg. Regum Scott.*, Vol. I: *The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153-1165*, ed. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960), no. 141. The Sules family's English lands included property in Yorkshire at Thornton Bridge, near Boroughbridge: T. M'Michael, 'The feudal family of de Soulis', *Trans. of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural Hist. and Antiqu. Soc.*, 3rd Ser., xxvi (1947-8), pp. 165-6.
10. *Reg. Regum Scott.*, ii, no. 255.
11. *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K. J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 47-9.
12. F. W. Ragg, 'Mauld's Meaburn, the Alston mines, and a branch of the Veteriponts', *Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiqu. and Archaeol. Soc.*, New Ser., xi (1911), pp. 309-10. See further A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland* (English Place-Name Soc., 1967), ii, p. 55, and on Gaythorn grange, mentioned by c.1250, Ragg, 'Mauld's Meaburn', p. 320.
13. Maud de Morville's grant is unlikely to have been made any earlier than 1173 (cf. *EYC* i, nos. 197-8), and the reference to Hugh's absence from England apparently relates to his banishment to the Holy Land, where he was despatched in 1171/2 by Pope Alexander III in order to expiate his crime. He died there and was buried at Jerusalem: Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Ser., 1868-71), ii, p. 17; cf. *Pipe Roll 19 Henry II*, pp. 1, 2. This evidence serves to contradict the long-held belief that Hugh earned the enmity of King Henry II and forfeited his English estates for supporting the Scots during the war of 1173-4. See further K. J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon, 1152-1219: A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 196-7.
14. Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp. 73-5.

enjoy his firm peace throughout his lands.[15] William de Vieuxpont, lord of Alston (Cumberland), Horndean (Berwickshire) and Carriden (West Lothian), gave four bovates at Maulds Meaburn in Crosby Ravensworth, acquired by him in marriage with Maud de Morville.[16] The Constable's sister, brother and brother-in-law were therefore all associated with St Peter's: frequently the support of a particular religious house was a means of expressing the strength of family affiliations. Further gifts were offered by the Constable's father-in-law William of Lancaster,[17] and by the native Scottish magnate Uhtred son of Fergus, lord of Galloway, whose son and successor Roland of Galloway married the Constable's daughter and eventual heiress, Helen de Morville. It was Uhtred who endowed the hospital with a carucate and a toft at Troqueer in Kirkcudbrightshire.[18]

The ability of St Peter's to profit from the goodwill of major landowners both in northern England and in southern Scotland is a characteristic feature of the hospital's early fortunes. Its important Scottish connections are noteworthy for their own sake and deserve to be better known.[19] But they are nevertheless of a subsidiary interest to this inquiry, for whatever colour they may give to previous opinion, the fact remains that the Collingham charter cannot have been issued by Richard de Morville the Constable. As has been indicated, Dr. Easson's assumption is questionable on diplomatic grounds alone, and other findings take the matter much further. First and foremost, although Collingham was a member of the honour of Mowbray, it did not pertain to the Constable's Yorkshire lordship. It formed part of the property of another Richard de Morville, patently a different person, who in 1166 held as his principal concern five knights' fees of Roger de Mowbray.[20] He was consequently an influential landholder, occupying an intermediate position between ordinary knightly proprietors and powerful magnates like the Constable. His large Mowbray tenancy comprised estates in Warwickshire at Binley, Hopsford (in Withybrook), Nuthurst and Withybrook, in Leicestershire at Lindley (in Higham on the Hill), and in Yorkshire at Hayton in the East Riding and at Bardsey, Collingham, Micklethwaite (in Collingham) and Wothersome (in Bardsey) in the West Riding.[21] He had succeeded his father Herbert de Morville in these lands shortly after c.1154, and he was a notable patron of the religious. His beneficiaries included the Knights Templars, the collegiate church of St Sepulchre at York, Kirkstall Abbey, St Mary's Abbey at York, Sallay Abbey, and Combe Abbey in Warwickshire, where he stipulated he should be buried.[22]

He was evidently a kinsman of the Constable. The precise relationship between the two men cannot be ascertained, but they represent different branches of the same family, whose Norman origin can be traced to Morville in the canton of Bricquebec, a few

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15. Ragg, 'Mauld's Meaburn', pp. 314-15 (from PRO, C. 53/80, memb. 5). The original charter survives *penes* O. R. Bagot Esq., Levens Hall, Kendal, Cumbria.
16. *Cal. Chr. Rolls*, ii, p. 450.
17. W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiqu. and Archaeol. Soc., Rec. Ser., 1923), p. 385.
18. *Cal. Chr. Rolls*, iii, pp. 91-2.
19. Note further, e.g., the grants to St Peter's by Radulf son of Dunegal (d. c.1185), lord of Nithsdale, of two bovates of his inheritance in Dumfries, and by Robert de Brus (d. c.1190), lord of Annandale in Dumfriesshire and Hartness in Co. Durham, of a house in Lochmaben: *Cal. Chr. Rolls*, iii, pp. 90, 92.
20. *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, 1107-1191*, ed. D. E. Greenway (London, 1972), no. 401.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 264; *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, ed. M. L. Faull and S. A. Moorhouse (Wakefield, 1981), ii, pp. 313-14, 350, 449, 573; *The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall*, ed. W. T. Lancaster and W. P. Baildon (Thoresby Soc., 1904), nos. 56, 326.
22. *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. B. A. Lees (London, 1935), pp. 123, 125 (where the donor is wrongly identified as Richard de Morville the Constable); *VCH, Yorkshire*, iii, p. 384; *Chrs. of the Honour of Mowbray*, nos. 82-3, 181, 320; *EYC* xi, no. 253; *VCH, Warwickshire*, vi, p. 265.

kilometres south of Valognes.[23] Final proof of the identity of the grantor is provided by reference to *Early Yorkshire Charters,* Volume XI, in which Sir Charles Clay printed an original charter of Adeliz (*alias* Alice) de Percy recording her confirmation to St Peter's of all the land held by Richard of Collingham, as granted by Richard de Morville and confirmed by his charter.[24] Adeliz, illegitimate daughter of William de Percy (II), lord of Topcliffe, and sometime mistress of Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham (1153-95), was once the wife of Richard de Morville of Bardsey and Collingham.[25] Comparison of the handwriting of her charter, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, with that of her husband's shows that they were probably (though not certainly) penned by the same scribe, and both were sealed in virtually the same, irregular manner (see below). But they are witnessed by different persons, and Adeliz made her confirmation presumably when she was a widow and claimed Collingham as part of her dower.

The survival of two twelfth-century original charters concerning the gift of one man, Richard of Collingham, and his holding must be regarded as a matter of exceptional good fortune, and it is pleasing to be able to reunite them here. Sir Charles Clay suggested that Richard de Morville of Bardsey died between 1167 and 1175.[26] According to Dr. D. E. Greenway, he was still alive in 1178 and was dead probably by 1183, possibly by 1181.[27] His charter was no doubt issued before 31 March 1173, when Pope Alexander III confirmed to St Peter's its lordship over two bovates and an assart in Collingham.[28] The earliest possible date, *c.*1156, is indicated by the elaborate papal privilege of 19 January 1157 concerning the hospital's possessions, which does not refer to Collingham.[29] In conclusion, it cannot be assumed that because Richard of Collingham was granted with his land to St Peter's, as in the formal words of gift, he was therefore unfree. Sir Frank Stenton warned that in practice transactions of this nature may have involved merely the surrender of a free tenant's homage and service: 'We may not fairly demand from clerks who wrote charters in the time of Henry II the consistent use of formulae which should distinguish the gift of a serf from the transfer of a free man's dues and service.'[30]

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Charter of Richard de Morville, c.1156 × 1173, from the original in the Scottish Record Office, RH 6/13. Apart from the loss of the seal, the document is in an excellent condition. No copy exists in either of the surviving cartularies of St Peter's Hospital, but the charter was transcribed into a third cartulary of the house, now lost (*YAJ* xlii [1971], pp. 178-80), whence Roger Dodsworth's Latin abstract of 1632: Bodleian Library, MS Dodsworth 120 B, fo. 98r.

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23. *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, pp. 46, 58 n. 8. Other branches of the family are discussed in Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era*, pp. 70ff.
24. *EYC* xi, no. 297.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5; G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 26, 311-12. Note that Adeliz's uncles Geoffrey and Henry de Percy (*EYC* xi, p. 3) were among the earliest benefactors of Dryburgh Abbey in Berwickshire, which they endowed with two bovates at Heiton, Roxburghshire: *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh,* nos. 224, 225 (where for 'patris' read 'fratris'). Dryburgh was founded in 1150-2 by the Constable's father, Hugh de Morville the elder.
26. *EYC* xi, no. 297 note.
27. *Chrs. of the Honour of Mowbray*, no. 384 note. For the subsequent descent of his properties in Yorkshire, see *West Yorkshire ii*, esp. pp. 313-14, 350, 449.
28. *EYC* i, no. 197.
29. *Ibid.*, no. 186.
30. *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, ed. F. M. Stenton (London, 1920), p. lxxxvi.

Plate 1. Charter of Richard de Morville *Photo. Scottish Record Office.*

. Notum sit Omnibus Sancte Matris ecclesie filiis tam futuris quam presentibus ⁊ quod Ego Ricardus de Moreuilla concessi 7 dedi deo 7 Sancto leonardo . 7 pauperibus hospital*is* sancti petri ebor' . Ricardum de Colingham cum tota terra sua tam in sartis . quam in bouatis . 7 communem pasturam eiusdem uille cum omnibus que ad eandem terram pertinent . sicut puram 7 perpetuam elemosinam liberam . 7 quietam . 7 solutam ab omni Geldo 7 consuetudine . 7 ab omni humano seruicio . Et hoc feci pro dei amore 7 pro salute anime méé . 7 pro uxore mea . 7 filiis meis . 7 pro anima patris mei . 7 matris méé . 7 omnium antecessorum meorum . ut simus participes omnium beneficiorum 7 orationum que fiunt in illa sancta domo . His testibus . Thoma filio Goilain de kigligcotes . Galfrido clerico de Budum . Gocelino de arceci . Marmeduc darel . Willelmo de hispania . Stephano presbitero de Torneuere . Johanne clerico . Ricardo clerico . Hacone clerico . 7 pluribus aliis .

Translation

Be it known to all the sons both future and present of Holy Mother Church that I, Richard de Morville, have granted and given to God and St Leonard and the poor men of the hospital of St Peter, York, Richard of Collingham with his whole land both in assarts and in bovates, and (right of) common pasture in the same vill with everything that belongs to the same land, as pure and perpetual alms free and quit and discharged from all geld and custom and from all secular service. And this I have done for love of God and for the salvation of my soul and for my wife and my sons, and for the soul of my father and of my mother and of all my predecessors, that we may share in all the good deeds and prayers done in that holy house. Witnesses: Thomas son of Jollan of Kipling Cotes, Geoffrey the clerk of Bootham, Jocelin de Arci, Marmaduke Darel, William de Epaignes, Stephen the priest of Thorner, John the clerk, Richard the clerk, Hacon the clerk and many others.

Endorsed: Ricardi . de Morwilla de Colingham . (contemporary) . xvi (xv cent.). Other endorsements are modern.

Description: 17.4cm, top, 17.5cm, bottom × 10.5cm, left-hand side, 11.0cm, right-hand side. Two slits were inserted for the seal to hang by a tag, but the foot of the parchment was not folded. A more obvious abnormality is the cut along the bottom from the right-hand corner in order to make a tie. The seal, tag and tie have all been torn off and lost. On Adeliz de Percy's charter (*EYC* xi, no. 297, with facs.) the seal, suspended *sur double queue* but with a narrow strip for a tie, was similarly affixed. The foot, however, has been folded so that the slits for the seal-tag pass through a double layer of parchment.

Hand: Bold and upright charter hand of book-hand type. The script of Adeliz's charter, while using mainly book-hand forms, is rather more cursive and fanciful.

EXCAVATION AND SALVAGE WORK ON A MOATED SITE AT COWICK, SOUTH HUMBERSIDE, 1976

Edited by Colin Hayfield and James Greig

SUMMARY

The Chamber Accounts record that Edward II had a 'great ditch' dug around his newly acquired manor house at Cowick in 1323. This impressive moated site, which lies to the south of Cowick village in South Humberside was dredged in May 1976, destroying most of the contents of the moat. Emergency excavation in 1976 revealed traces of bridge piers and provided an important series of late-medieval environmental samples and artifact assemblages. This report discusses the background and excavation of the site together with the environmental reports. The artifacts and tree-ring dating will appear in the 1990 volume of the Y.A.J.

INTRODUCTION

As the site of a royal manor, the moated site at West Cowick assumes a position of historical and archaeological importance; however, the detailed historical sources relating to the moat have yet to be explored, as indeed has the inner part of the moated site itself where the residential buildings would have been. This report is largely confined to an archaeological assessment of the moat itself.

Documentary evidence points to the original excavation of Cowick moat (Fig. 1) in the early fourteenth century shortly after the manor had been escheated to the crown. Although there are no structural remains surviving within the moated enclosure, the

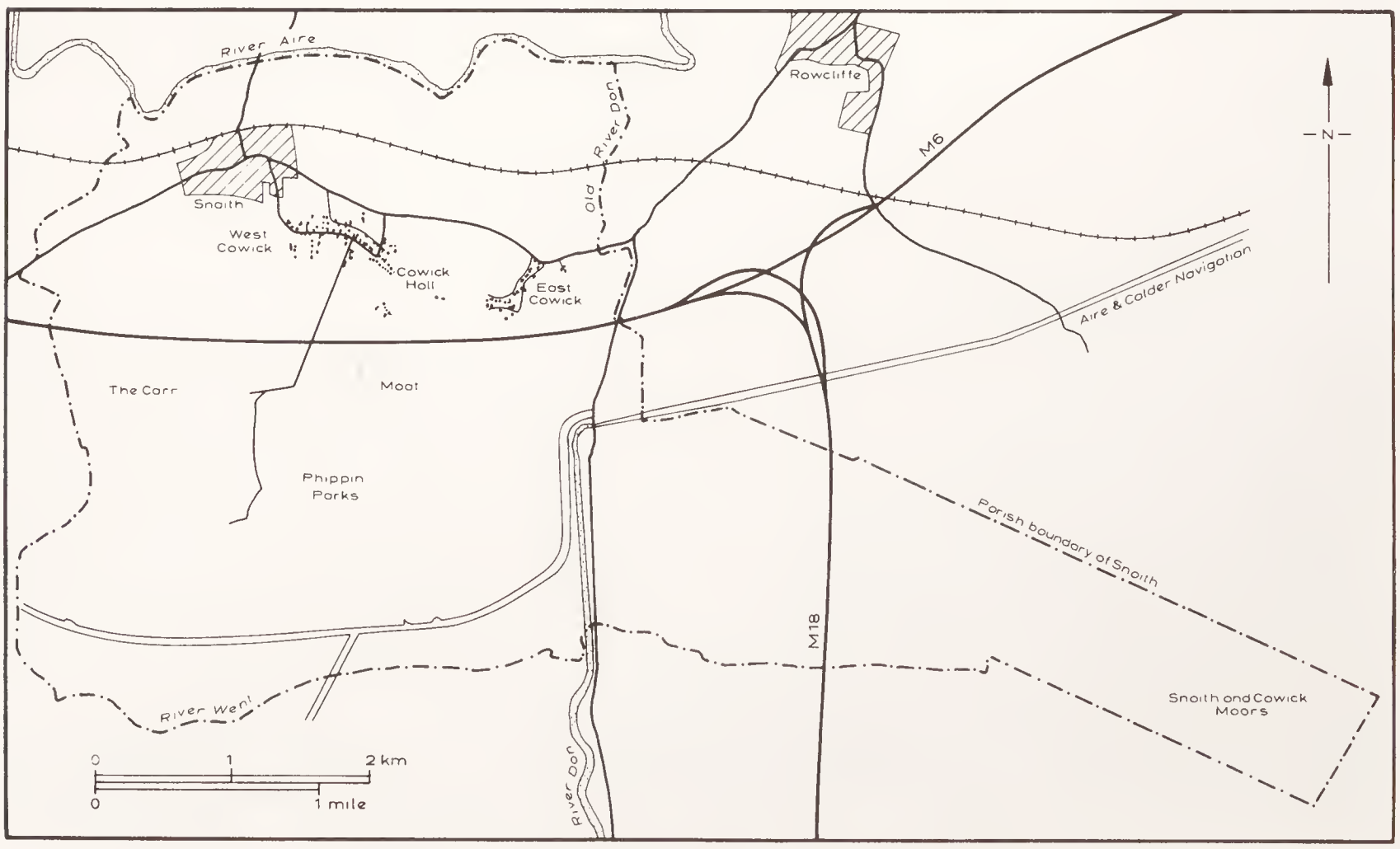


Fig. 1. Location Map, showing parish of Snaith/Cowick and position of moat.

moat itself forms a prominent earthwork, situated 1 km to the south of West Cowick village (SE 653205).

Manor Hill, as the moated site is described on the 1905 edition of the 25 inch O.S. Map, is an irregular, five-sided enclosure of some 1.77 acres surrounded by a wide ditch with an eastern causeway (Fig. 2). As it was a scheduled site, the landowner notified the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Department of the Environment that he intended to dredge the moat to convert it into a fish farm. The site was subsequently visited by Dr. P. C. Buckland, Dr. G. Coppack and the late Mr. S. Rigold. The moat, although heavily silted, was still wet, suggesting that it could contain important medieval waterlogged deposits (Plate 1). Consequently, the Department of the Environment agreed to fund a watching brief of the dredging work under the supervision of Mr. Malcolm Dolby of Doncaster Museum.

Unfortunately, the site notebook, containing details of the excavation and salvage work, was lost shortly after the work was completed. The general areas from which many of the artifacts were recovered were, however, independently recorded whilst the artifacts themselves, particularly the pottery, would seem to comprise a relatively homogeneous late-medieval assemblage.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

The township of Cowick forms part of the modern ecclesiastical and administrative parish of Snaith (Fig. 1). With the exception of a tongue-like projection of land to the south-east, the borders of this parish seem quite regular and lie along the course of the rivers Aire to the north, the Went to the south and the Turnbrigg Dyke to the east; the latter boundary being along a canalised diversion of the river Don which may be of early-medieval or even Roman origin (Gaunt 1975; Samuels and Buckland 1978). Within the parish, there is little now surviving to distinguish the townships of Snaith and Cowick.



Plate 1. Cowick: waterlogged moat before dredging.

Since the late-Saxon period at least, Snaith was both economically and administratively the more considerable of the two settlements. Its lack of mention in the Domesday Survey disguised the fact that it was the centre of a large and important royal soke (Farrer 1912). The many townships that fell within the soke and parish of Snaith during the medieval period were generally low-lying (averaging 5m OD) containing large areas of marsh and poorly drained lands which were subject to seasonal flooding. it was described retrospectively, and rather colourfully, in the late nineteenth century as being "The very region of desolation, of reede, of moss, of swamp and mire, of bog and fen. It as the abhorred of man and shunned of beasts, for even when the summer burst forth in splendour it was dark, misty, ungenial". (Wheater 1889). Such areas would have restricted the movement and trading links of its inhabitants, especially during the winter months. Like the Isle of Axholme (Dunston 1909) or the Hull valley (Sheppard 1958, 1966), there would have been higher areas of fertile ground which were suitable for arable cultivation, with lower, less well drained, lands providing important summer pastures and meadow lands. As an estate centre, it contained, and was surrounded by, lands that were ideal for the hunting of wildfowl and other game.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By the early thirteenth century, Cowick may have already been the site of a royal hunting lodge, for King John is known to have hunted the area around Snaith on several occasions (Wheater 1889, 108-9). In 1295 the king gave the manor of Cowick to Henry de Lacy, granting its reversion to his nephew Thomas of Lancaster, who was married to Alice, Henry's daughter (ibid. 107).

By the early fourteenth century, the manor of Cowick was an established part of the estates of the house of Lancaster, which maintained a residence there, probably within the vicinity of the presented moated site. In 1322, following the fall of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Cowick, along with other Lancastrian estates, escheated to the crown and became part of the personal estates of Edward II administered through the Chamber (Colvin 1963, I, 224, 921). Edward made frequent visits to Cowick, several royal writs being signed there (e.g. Cal. Charter Rolls III, 459), and between October 1322 and January 1324, a number of building works took place at the manor (Colvin 1963, 922). This included the excavation of a moat around the inner court of the manor in the summer of 1323 which was recorded as being 40 ft. wide and 10ft. deep, whilst several of the buildings were roofed with tile and fitted with new fireplaces (ibid.). These accounts imply that the moat was dug around the principal ranges of an existing complex of manorial buildings whose repairs and renovations had been begun almost a year earlier. Payments for refurbishments at Cowick manor continued into the early years of Edward III's reign and are recorded until January 1324 (Colvin 1963, 922). The manor passed to Queen Isabella in 1327 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327-30, p. 69) and thence to Edward III's queen, Philippa, and in 1370, Cowick moat was granted back to the house of Lancaster (Colvin 1963, 922). Amongst the Duchy of Lancaster papers, there is an account for 1373-4 referring to the manor at Cowick and describing a hall and kitchen with a passage between them, another passage between the hall and the chamber to the duke's privy chamber, and to a larder, pantry, stable and bridge (ibid.).

Cowick became the residence of Catherine Swinford, the third wife of John of Gaunt, and in 1442 the manor and soke of Snaith, though part of the lands of the Duchy of Lancaster, were in the hands of Thomas Rothwell esquire and Elizabeth his wife who was formerly the wife of Sir Thomas Swinford. Following the battle of Bosworth in 1485, the manor reverted back to the crown and remained in royal hands for much of the Tudor period (Wheater 1889, 113).

From the post-medieval period to the end of the nineteenth century, the manor of Snaith and Cowick formed the seat of the Dawnay family (ibid.). The Dawnays appear

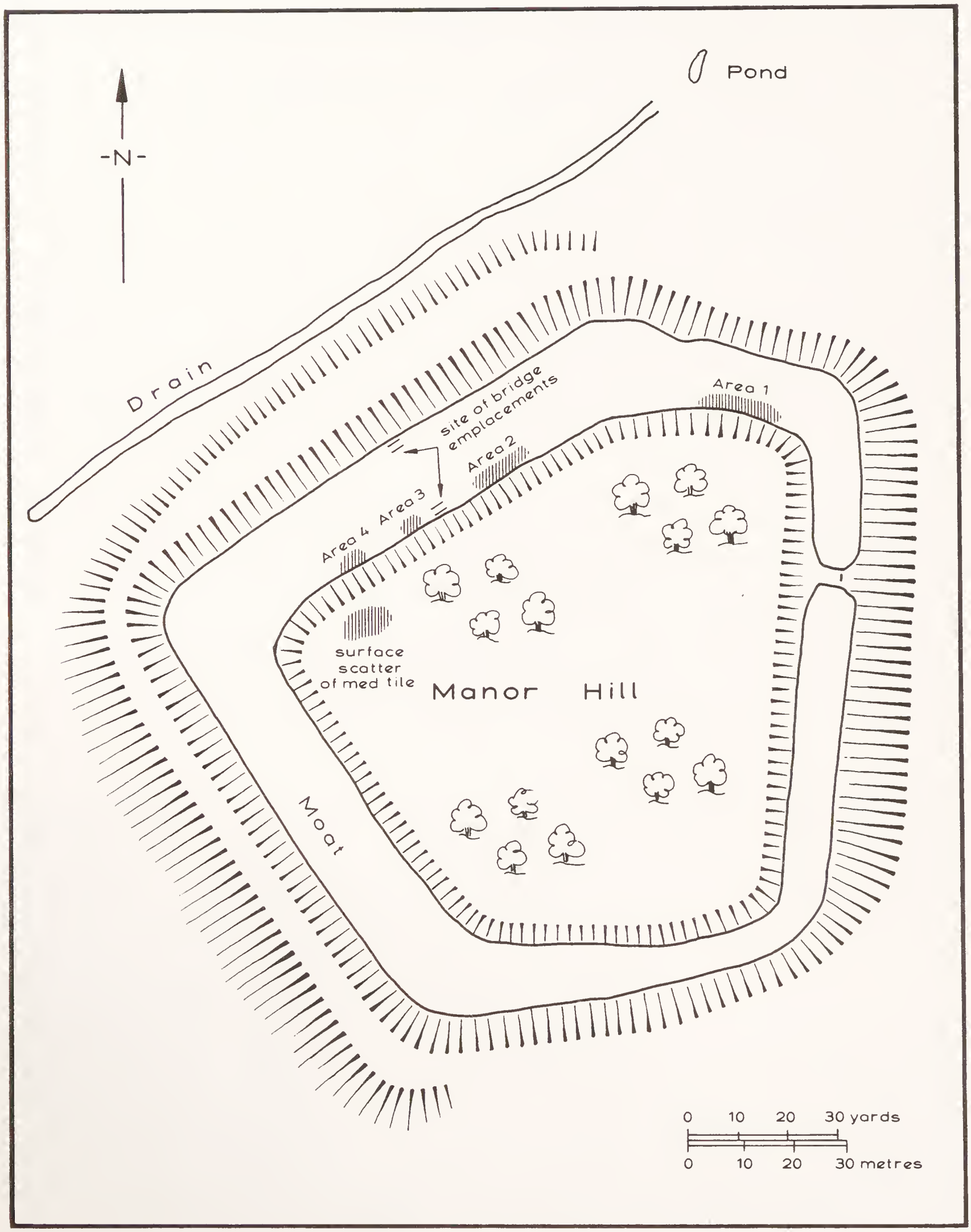


Fig. 2. Cowick: plan of moat.

to have been one of the families whose fortunes improved through their support for Henry Tudor. Their earliest recorded association with Cowick dates from 1488 when, by advice of the council of the Duchy of Lancaster, John Dawnay of Cowick was granted a seven year lease to farm the herbage and pasturage of the park of 'Fyppyn' (Wheater 1889, 118). Quite what the Dawnays' status was at Cowick is unclear, for in 1553 a Sir

Gervais Clifton was the crown's steward and bailiff of Snaith and Cowick. Yet by this time the Dawnays were of sufficient status amongst the local gentry to provide several of the sheriffs of the county of York; a Sir Thomas Dawnay of Cowick, for example, was recorded as sheriff in 1543.

The Dawnay family clearly held a residence at Cowick, for in 1552, Sir Guy Dawnay died at Cowick; but this residence may not have been within the moated site. In 1585, Anthoney Dewes, in right of Roger Phillipe, opposed Thomas Rickard as lessee of a messuage called 'King's house' and land in Cowick (Wheater 1889, 114). Cowick Hall, which now forms offices for Croda International and is situated some 600m to the north of the moated site between West and East Cowick, was the former residence of the Dawnays. The existing fabric of Cowick Hall was reconstructed in 1752, although Pevsner considered the present building to be as early as the seventeenth century in its inception (1967, 171). The reference above to the lease of the 'King's house' at Cowick by others than the Dawnays in 1585 suggests that from the first they may have based themselves at the site of the modern Cowick Hall. Certainly the archaeological evidence of the silted moat and the possible activities of potters within it suggest that by the end of the medieval period it had ceased to be a residence of any social importance. By the nineteenth century, if not considerably earlier, all occupation within the moat had been abandoned, for when in June 1888 the 'Cowick Hall estate' was put up for sale, its park lands were advertised as containing an 'interesting and picturesque moat and island' (Wheater 1889, 104).

EXCAVATION AND SALVAGE WORK

Archaeological work on the site in 1976 was confined to a monitoring of the clearance of the moat. The dredging operation was carried out by an overarm digger working from the outer bank of the moat. The bucket arm was swung as far as possible towards the inner bank, scraping through the silts and depositing the dredged material on the outer bank to be ploughed into the surrounding farmland. Consequently the degree of damage to the inner bank depended on the width of the moat at any particular point. The dredging operation overcut the original bottom of the moat, passing through the natural lenses of sands and gravels and exposing the underlying Lake Humber silts. Despite the loss of the site note book, the finds labels, photographs and other sources of information allow a reconstruction of the salient details of the work.

The waterlogged conditions of the moat required the use of a mechanical suction pump, and archaeological work had to be done in waders, with varying degrees of finesse, amidst a 60-70cm depth of fine clay slurry. There was little detectable stratification visible within the waterlogged silts of the moat which throughout comprised organic silts. Separate vertical successions of samples were cut through the silts of the eastern side of the inner bank (Fig. 2) which produced the pollen and insect remains reported on below.

Dredging along the north-western side of the moat, facing towards West Cowick village, brought up substantial timbers and large blocks of dressed stone. Cleaning of the moat in this area revealed the remains of foundations for a bridge across the moat. These foundations comprised two pier bases of dressed stone which were set into either bank of the moat. The bridge emplacements of the outer bank had been largely destroyed by dredging; a single block of Jurassic, Oolitic limestone remained *in situ*, approximately 80 cms in length, 30 cms in height and 50-60 cms in depth. Comparison with the pier of the inner bank suggests that originally there would have been at least three of these stones on the outer bank producing an overall bridge width of c. 2.4 m. The stone foundation for the inner bridge emplacements was complete and comprised a series of rectilinear blocks of Lower Magnesian Limestone, some 80-100 cm long, 30 cm wide and at least

20 cm deep (Plate 2). These stones were laid sideways-on to form a pier base some 2.70 m long and about 80-100 cm wide. A number of timbers were recovered from dredging in the vicinity of the bridge, including a very large and substantial oak timber over 8 metres long, sufficient to span the two piers. This timber was not retained, but dendrochronological samples were taken and are reported on below by Dr. Ruth Morgan (in vol 62 for 1990).

These remains indicate that this had been a substantial and well-built bridge, easily capable of taking carts and other wheeled traffic. It is interesting that the shapes and stone types of the two pier foundations should have differed. It suggests that either the bridge foundations had been constructed of reused stone from at least two different sources or, alternatively, that one of the piers had been replaced during the later Middle Ages. Although the archaeological excavation of both piers was far from complete, there was nothing found to suggest any such rebuild. It is therefore possible that the bridge was built of reused material which became available during the contemporary refurbishment of the existing manorial buildings within the moated enclosures in the 1320s. Work on the moat was divided into four areas, 1-4, whose approximate positions are shown on Fig. 2. Most of the pottery, and all the leather, came from Area 2 and within that area, from a more closely defined section of the inner bank of the moat shown on Fig. 2. It represents, therefore, material dumped into the moat from within the enclosure. A number of vessels were recovered substantially complete, whilst the remaining sherds were unusually large with clean breaks, frequently fitting together to form more complete profiles. It will be argued below that they represent a waster assemblage from kilns that were probably operating from within the moated area.

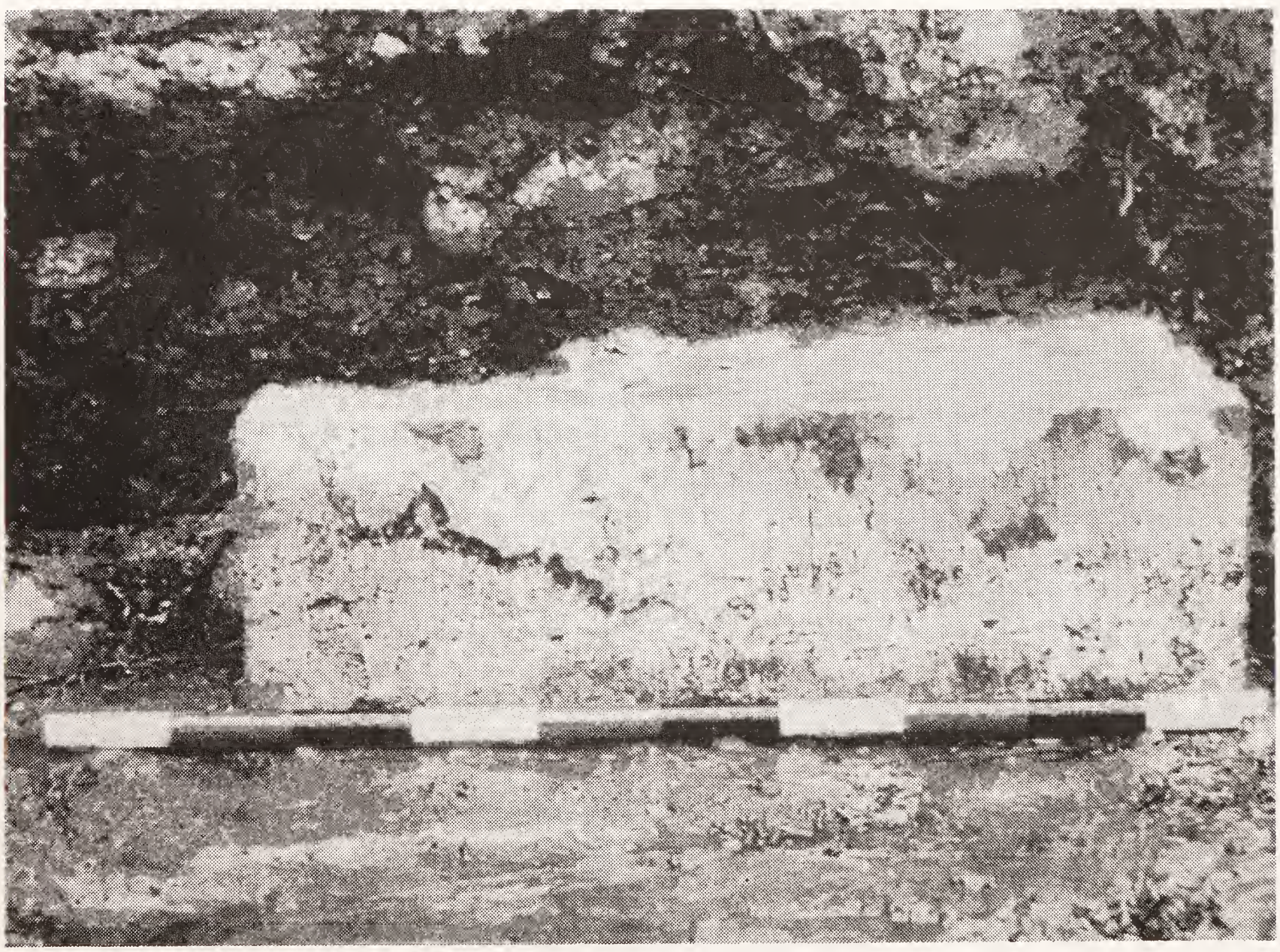


Plate 2. Cowick: stones of outer bridge emplacement.

ENVIRONMENTAL SAMPLES

The plant remains were mainly studied by James Greig with contributions by Sandra Nye (mosses) and Philippa Tomlinson (various plant macrofossils) and the species list forms table 1. The beetle samples were collected by Paul Buckland and studied by Maureen Girling up to her untimely death in 1985, and Mark Robinson wrote up the results from her identifications. The lists are given in Table 2. Additionally, Bridget Wilkinson identified and reported on the Trichoptera (caddis flies).

Table 1 FLORA OF THE COWICK MOAT

Identifications by J. Greig except those marked x (S. Nye), * (P. Tomlinson) and # (L. Moffett). Samples: S1, S1P, "area 2 under bridge", macros and pollan. S2, "sample 8, area 2, column 1", macros. PD, records from pollen diagram. The data appears in absolute numbers (S1), presence only (S2) and percentage of pollen sum (PD, S1P). + = present, less than 1% of pollen. Order and taxonomy after Clapham et al. 1962, 1981 (higher plants), Smith 1980 (mosses).

Plant macrofossils	S1	S2	PD	SP
– – + +				
PEDIASTRUM	–	–	+	+
x Bryum sp. (Hedw.)	+	–	–	–
x Plagiomnium rostratum (Schrad.) Kop.	+	–	–	–
x Aulacomnium palustre Hedw. Schwaegr.	+	–	–	–
x Climacium dendroides (Hedw.)Web & Mohr	+	–	–	–
x Leucodon sciuroides (Hedw.) Schwaegr.	+	–	–	–
x Acrocladium cuspidatum (Hedw.) Lindb.	+	–	–	–
x Isothecium myosuroides var. myosuroides Brid.	+	–	–	–
x Homalothecium sericeum Hedw.	+	–	–	–
x Hypnum cupressiforme Hedw.	+	–	–	–
Pteridium aquilinum L.(leaf fragments)	+	–	–	–
PTERIDIUM	–	–	+	–
POLYPODIUM	–	–	+	–
PINUS	–	–	+	+
NUPHAR	–	–	–	+
Caltha palustris L.	–	+	–	–
CALTHA tp.	–	–	+	+
cf. ANEMONE	–	–	+	–
Ranunculus cf. acris L.	1	+	–	–
RANUNCULUS tp.	–	–	+	1
Ranunculus subg. Ranunculus	4	+	–	–
Ranunculus sardous Crantz	–	+	–	–
Ranunculus cf. lingua L.	1	–	–	–
Ranunculus flammula L.	5	+	–	–
Ranunculus sceleratus L.	1	+	–	–
Ceratophyllum demersum L.	+	+	–	–
Papaver dubium L.	–	+	–	–
PAPAVER	–	–	–	+
Papaver argemone L.	–	+	–	–
Brassica sp.	+	+	–	–
CRUCIFERAE	–	–	+	+
Raphanus raphanistrum L.	=4	–	–	–
Coronopus squamatus (Forsk.) Aschars.	–	+	–	–
Rorippa cf. microphylla (Boenn.) Hyland	–	+	–	–
Viola cf. tricolor L.	+	+	–	–
Agrostemma githago L.	=1	+	+	+
CARYOPHYLLACEAE	–	–	+	+
Cerastium fontanum Baumg.	1	+	–	–
Stellaria media (L.) Vill. s.l.	+	+	–	–
Stellaria cf. palustris Retz	–	+	–	–
Spergula arvensis L.	=1	–	–	–
SPERGULA tp.	–	–	+	–
Montia fontana ssp. chondrosperma (Fenzl.) Walters	+	+	–	–
TILIA	–	–	+	–
Chenopodium cf. album L.	22	+	+	+
CHENOPODIACEAE	–	–	+	+
Atriplex sp.	+	+	–	–
Malva sylvestris L.	4	–	–	+
Linum usitatissimum L.(sd = cpsl frg)	+	+	–	–
LINUM USITATISSIMUM tp.C	–	–	+	–
GERANIUM tp.	–	–	+	–
ACER	–	–	+	+
ILEX AQUIFOLIUM	–	–	+	–
BUXUS	–	–	+	–
Vitis vinifera (L.) Gmal.	–	+	–	–
Medicago lupulina L. (seedpod)	1	–	–	–
MEDICAGO tp.	–	–	+	–

Plant macrofossils	S1	S2	PD	SP
Trifolium sp. (flower parts)	+	–	+	–
TRIFOLIUM REPENS tp.	–	–	+	–
TRIFOLIUM PRATENSE tp.	–	–	+	+
LOTUS tp.	–	–	–	+
VICIA FABA	–	–	+	–
Filipendula ulmaria L.	1	+	–	–
FILIPENDULA	–	–	+	+
Rubus fruticosus agg.	4	+	–	–
RUBUS FRUTICOSUS tp.	–	–	–	+
Rubus/Rosa (thorns)	+	+	–	–
Potentilla anserina L.	–	+	–	–
POTENTILLA tp.	–	–	+	+
Potentilla erecta (L.) Rauschel	1	+	–	–
? Agrimonia eupatoria L.	1	–	–	–
SANGUISORBA OFFICINALIS tp.	–	–	+	–
Rosa sp.	*1	+	–	–
Prunus insititia L.	–	+	–	–
PRUNUS tp.	–	–	+	+
Prunus cerasus L.	–	+	–	–
Prunus/Crataegus (thorns)	–	+	–	–
Crataegus cf. monogyna Jacq.	+	+	+	1
Malus sylvestris Mill.	–	+	–	–
Epilobium sp.	1	–	–	–
EPILOBIUM tp.	–	–	+	–
Myriophyllum verticillatum L.	–	+	–	–
MYRIOPHYLLUM VERTICILLATUM	–	–	+	+
HEDERA	–	–	+	+
Hydrocotyle vulgaris L.	–	+	–	–
Anthriscus sylvestris (L.) Hoffm.	2	+	–	–
Oenanthe aquatica (L.) Poiret	19	+	–	–
Aethusa cynapium L.	–	+	–	–
Conium maculatum L.	1	+	–	–
cf. Apium inundatum (L.) Reichenb.fil.	–	+	–	–
Foeniculum vulgare Mill.	–	+	–	–
Heracleum sphondylium L.	+	–	–	–
Daucus carota L.	1	–	–	–
UMBELLIFERAE	–	–	+	+
Polygonum sect. aviculare	8	+	–	–
Polygonum lapathifolium L.	2	+	–	–
P. PERSICARIA tp.	–	–	+	
Polygonum hydropiper L.	1	–	–	–
Polygonum convolvulus L.	4	–	–	–
Rumex acetosella agg.	1	+	–	–
RUMEX tp.	–	–	+	1
Rumex cf. obtusifolius L. (perianth)	5	+	–	–
Rumex conglomeratus Murray (perianth)	–	+	–	–
Rumex sp. (seeds)	+	+	–	–
Urtica urens L.	–	+	–	–
URTICA	–	–	+	7
Urtica dioica L.	10	+	–	–
CANNABACEAE	–	–	+	+
ULMUS	–	–	+	–
Ficus carica L.	1	–	–	–
JUGLANS	–	–	+	–
Betula sp.	–	+	–	–
BETULA	–	–	+	1
Alnus glutinosa (L.) Gaertner (sd, ctk)	18	+	–	–
ALNUS (not in pollen sum)	–	–	+	20
Corylus avellana L.	=1	+	–	–

Plant macrofossils		S1	S2	PO	SP
CORYLUS (" ")		–	–	+	5
Quercus sp. (acorn)		1	–	–	–
QUERCUS		–	–	+	37
Quercus sp. (buds)	*	19	+	–	–
Populus cf. tremula (bud-scale)	*	1	–	–	–
Salix sp. (buds, seed capsules)	*	1	+	–	–
SALIX		–	–	+	1
ERICALES		–	–	+	+
PRIMULACEAE		–	–	+	–
Fraxinus excelsior L. (fruit, twig)	*	+	+	–	–
FRAXINUS EXCELSIOR		–	–	+	10
LIGUSTRUM		–	–	+	1
Menyanthes trifoliata L.		1	–	–	–
CALYSTEGIA		–	–	+	–
Solanum dulcamara L.		–	+	–	–
SOLANUM DULCAMARA		–	–	+	1
RHINANTHUS tp.		–	–	+	–
Scrophularia sp.		–	+	–	–
SCROPHULARIA		–	–	–	+
Lycopus europaeus L.		1	–	–	–
MENTHA tp.		–	–	+	–
Prunella vulgaris L.		1	+	–	–
PRUNELLA tp.		–	–	+	–
Stachys cf. sylvatica L.		–	+	–	–
Lamium sp.		1	–	–	–
Galeopsis tetrahit/speciosa		+	+	–	–
Glechoma hederacea L.		–	+	–	–
Plantago major L.		1	–	–	–
PLANTAGO MAJOR tp.		–	–	+	+
PLANTAGO LANCEOLATA		–	–	+	2
CAMPANULACEAE		–	–	+	–
Galium palustre L.		1	–	–	–
GALIUM tp.		–	–	+	1
Galium aparine L.		1	–	–	–
Sambucus nigra L.		9	+	–	–
SAMBUCUS NIGRA		–	–	+	3
VIBURNUM		–	–	–	+
LONICERA		–	–	+	–
OIPSACACEAE		–	–	+	+
Anthemis cotula L.		–	+	–	–
COMPOSITAE (T)		–	–	+	+
Achillea ptarmica L.		1	–	–	–
Chrysanthemum segetum L.		2	+	–	–
ARTEMISIA		–	–	+	1
Arctium sp.		3	+	–	–
ARCTIUM tp.		–	–	+	–
Cirsium spp.		2	+	–	–
CIRSIUM/CAROUUS tp.		–	–	+	+
Centaurea cyanus		–	+	–	–
CENTAUREA CYANUS		–	–	+	–
CENTAUREA NIGRA type			–	–	+ +
Leontodon taraxacoides (Vill.) Merat		2	+	–	–
COMPOSITAE (L)		–	–	+	1
Picris echioides L.		1	–	–	–
Sonchus palustris L.		–	+	–	–
Sonchus oleraceus L.		1	–	–	–
Sonchus asper (L.) Hill		+	+	–	–
Alisma sp.		1	+	–	–
ALISMATACEAE		–	–	+	–
Potamogeton cf. natans L.		1	+	–	–
POTAMOGETONACEAE		–	–	+	1
Juncus sp.		+	–	–	–
Lemna sp.		1	–	–	–
Sparganium cf. erectus L.		–	+	–	–
SPARGANIUM/TYPHA ANGUSTIFOLIA		–	–	+	–
Sparganium cf. minimum Wallr.		–	+	–	–
Eleocharis uniglumis/palustris		1	+	–	–
CYPERACEAE		–	–	+	+
Scirpus tabernaemontani (CC Gmel.) Palla		1	+	–	–
Isolepis setacea L.		–	+	–	–
Carex pseudocyperus L.		13	+	–	–
Carex cf. pallescens		1	–	–	–
Carex cf. hirta L.		1	–	–	–
Carex nigra group (? C. acuta)		5	–	–	–
Carex ovalis Good.		2	1	–	– ?
Poa sp.		2	+	–	–

Plant macrofossils		S1	S2	PO	SP
GRAMINEAE		–	–	+	21
Glyceria cf. maxima (Hartm.) Holmberg		1	+	–	–
Triticum sp. (charred grain)		–	+	–	–
CEREALIA tp.		–	–	+	7
Triticum sp. (chaff fragments)	#	+	–	–	–
Avena sp. (charred grain)		–	+	–	–
Cerealia (culm node, pericarp)		+	–	–	–
total		200			

TABLE 2 :COLEOPTERA SPECIES LIST, MAUREEN GIRLING AND MARK ROBINSON
Column 1 Under Bridge

	8	7	5	2	U83	UB1
Laistus fulvibarbis Daj	–	1	–	7	–	–
Nebria brevicollis (F.)	–	–	3	–	–	–
Notiophilus biguttatus (F.)	–	1	–	1	–	1
Notiophilus sp.	–	–	–	1	–	–
or E. uliginosus F.	–	–	–	1	–	–
Loricera pilicornis (F.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Dyschirius globosus (Herbst)	–	–	–	1	–	–
D. luedersi Wag.	–	–	1	–	–	–
Clivina collaris (Herbst)						
or C. fossor (L.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Patrobus atrorufus (Strom)	–	–	–	–	1	–
Trechus obtusus Er. or						
T. quadristriatus (Schrank)	–	1	1	–	3	4
T. rubens (F.)	–	–	–	–	1	–
T. micros (Herbst)	–	–	1	7	–	–
Bembidion prasinum (Dufts.)	–	1	–	2	1	–
B. clarki Daws.	–	–	–	2	–	–
B. doris (Panz.)	–	–	–	–	3	–
B.harpaloides Ser.	–	–	–	1	2	–
B.biguttatum (F.)	2	3	1	9	5	1
B. guttala (F.)	–	–	1	5	3	2
Bembidion spp.	1	–	1	1	1	–
Stomis pumicatus (Panz.)	–	–	–	2	–	–
Pterostichus anthracinus						
(Panz.)	–	–	–	2	–	–
P. cupreus (L.)	2	–	1	2	1	1
P.diligens (Sturm)	–	–	–	2	–	1
P. madidus (F.)	–	1	–	1	–	–
P. melanarius (Ill.)	–	–	–	3	–	–
P. minor (Gyll.)	–	–	1	3	–	–
P. nigrita (Payk.)	–	1	–	2	1	–
P. strenuus (Panz.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
P. vernalis (Panz.)	–	1	–	1	–	–
Calathus micropterus						
(Dufts.)	–	–	–	–	1	–
Agonum albipes (F.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
A. dorsale (Pont.)	–	–	–	–	–	1
A. obscurum (Herbst)	–	–	–	1	–	–
A. marginatum (L.)	–	–	1	2	–	–
A. muelleri (Herbst)	1	–	1	1	–	–
Agonum sp.	–	1	–	1	–	–
Amara aenea (Deg.)	–	1	–	–	–	–
Amara sp.	–	–	–	1	–	1
Harpalus rufipes (Deg.)	–	–	–	–	1	–
Harpalus sp.	–	1	–	1	–	1
Badister sodalis (Dufts.)	–	–	–	–	1	–
Dromius quadrimaculatus (L.)	–	–	–	2	–	1
Dromius sp.	–	–	–	–	–	1
Haliplus spp.	17	3	11	15	10	1
Noterus clavicornis (Deg.)	–	–	–	1	–	1
N. crassicornis (Mull.)	–	1	–	2	–	1
Hyphydrus ovatus (L.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Hygrotus inaequalis (F.)	6	3	1	12	1	1
Hydroporus palustris (L.)	–	–	–	2	–	–
H. planus (F.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Graptodytes pictus (F.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Stictotarsus						
duoderimpustulatus (F.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Agabus bipustulatus (L.)	2	–	1	1	–	1
A. nebulosus (Forst.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Agabus sp.	1	–	–	1	–	1
Ilybius sp.	1	–	–	1	–	–
Rhantus sp.	–	1	1	1	1	–
Colymbetes fuscus (L.)	1	1	2	2	1	1
Dytiscus circumflexus F.	–	–	–	4	–	–
Dytiscus spp.	–	1	2	2	2	–
Gyrinus marinus Gyll.	–	–	–	3	–	2
G. minutus F.	–	–	–	1	–	–
G. natator (L.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Gyrinus sp.	–	3	1	–	–	–

	8	7	5	2	UB3	UB1
Hydrochus alongatus						
(Schall.)	4	1	–	4	3	–
Helophorus aquaticus (L.)	–	2	1	7	1	2
H. brevipalpis Bed.	41	20	9	83	23	38
H. grandis Ill.	–	–	1	–	1	–
Helophorus spp.	2	6	3	4	1	–
Coelostoma orbiculare (F.)	1	–	–	3	–	–
Sphaeridium sp.	–	–	–	1	–	–
Cercyon haemorrhoidalis (F.)	–	–	1	4	–	1
C. melanocephalus (L.)	–	–	–	–	–	1
C. pygmaeus (Ill.)	1	–	–	–	–	–
Cercyon spp.	–	–	–	2	–	3
Megasternum obscurum						
(Marsh.)	8	4	2	13	–	7
Cryptopleurum minutum (F.)	–	–	–	2	–	2
Hydrobius fuscipes (L.)	4	4	4	18	3	1
Anacaena spp.	3	3	2	5	1	1
Laccobius spp.	–	–	–	2	–	–
Enochrus spp.	6	4	8	21	4	5
Cymbiodyta marginella (F.)	1	–	1	1	–	–
Chaetarthria seminulum						
(Herbst)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Acritus nigricornis (Hoff.)	1	1	–	–	–	–
Hister sp.	–	–	–	2	–	1
Ochthebius bicolon Germ.	1	1	–	2	–	–
O. minimus (F.)	44	20	8	131	15	4
Hydraena nigrita Germ.	–	–	–	3	–	–
H. palustris Er.	1	–	–	2	–	–
H. riparia Kug.	10	4	6	32	7	2
H. testacea Curt.	2	1	1	7	–	–
Limnebius aluta (Bed.)	4	4	1	6	–	1
L. truncatellus (Thun.)	2	–	–	–	–	–
Limnebius spp.	2	6	4	34	1	1
Ptiliidae	3	3	–	7	–	6
Choleva or Catops spp.	–	1	–	3	–	–
Silpha atrata L	–	1	–	–	–	1
Micropeplus fulvus Er.	1	1	1	4	–	–
Micropeplus sp.	–	–	–	1	–	–
Megarthrus affinis Mill.	–	–	–	–	–	1
Olophrum piceum (Gyll.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Lesteva longoelytrata						
(Goeze)	11	8	1	21	1	7
Omalium spp.	–	–	–	1	–	–
Carpelimus / Thinobius spp.	11	6	1	9	2	3
Platystethus						
arenarius (Fourc.)	1	–	–	–	–	4
P. nitens (Sahlb.)	–	–	–	–	–	1
Anotylus nitidulus (Grav.)	2	4	–	3	2	1
A. rugosus (F.)	3	3	3	11	1	6
A. tetracarinatus (Block)	1	3	1	2	3	3
Anotylus sp.	–	–	–	1	–	–
Stenus spp.	4	2	6	17	2	5
Lathrobium terminatum Grav.	–	–	–	1	–	–
Lathrobium spp.	1	2	–	6	–	2
Rugilus rufipes Germ.	–	–	–	2	–	–
Xantholinus linearis (Ol.)	3	1	1	3	1	3
X.longiventris Heer	–	1	1	5	–	–
Philonthus spp.	8	7	7	18	1	3
Staphylinus olens Mull.	–	–	–	1	1	–
Quedius spp.	1	1	–	–	–	–
Tachinus signatus Grav.	1	2	1	2	–	–
Tachyporinae indat.	2	3	–	1	–	–
Aleocharinaa indet.	35	33	5	39	7	29
Pselaphidae	–	–	–	1	–	–
Geotrupes sp.	–	–	1	1	–	1
Colobopterus fossor (L.)	–	–	–	1	–	–
Aphodius ater (Deg.)	–	–	–	2	–	–
A. merdarius (F.)	3	3	2	25	–	7
A. prodromus (Brahm)	–	–	–	3	–	–
Aphodius spp.	–	2	1	15	3	1

	8	7	5	2	UB3	UB1
Onthophagus similis (Scriba)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Onthophagus sp.	1	1	-	-	-	-
Phyllopertha horticola (L.)	-	-	-	1	-	1
Scirtidae	4	5	1	12	2	5
Simplocaria semistriata (F.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Cytilus sericeus (Forst.)	1	1	2	-	-	-
Byrhhus sp.	-	-	1	1	-	-
Helichus substriatus (Mull.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Dryops spp.	3	1	2	11	1	-
Esolus parallelepipedus (Mull.)	2	1	-	1	-	-
Oulimnius tuberculatus (Mull.)	1	-	-	2	-	1
Agrilus angustulus (Ill.) or laticornis (Ill.)	-	-	-	-	-	1
Athous sp.	-	-	1	-	1	-
Agriotes obscurus (L.)	-	-	-	2	-	1
Cantharis fusca L.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Grynobius planus (F.)	1	1	1	9	1	-
Xestobium rufovillosum (Deg.)	-	-	1	2	1	-
Anobium punctatum (Deg.)	5	4	4	19	2	1
Ptilinus pectinicornis (L.)	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tipnus unicolor (Pill. & Mitt.)	4	2	5	8	2	-
Ptinus fur (L.)	-	-	-	4	-	-
Nitidulidae	2	-	1	8	2	-
Rhizophagus parallelocollis Gyll.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Monotoma sp.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Oryzaephilus surinamensis (L.)	1	-	-	-	-	-
Crytophagus spp.	4	2	-	4	-	-
Cryptophagidae	3	4	1	9	-	-
Stilbus sp.	-	1	-	-	-	-
Corylophus cassidoides (Marsh.)	2	-	-	1	-	-
Coccidula rufa (Herbst)	-	-	1	2	-	-
Mycetaea hirta (Marsh.)	6	2	-	9	2	2
Lathridius anthracinus Mann.	3	1	-	1	1	-
L. minutus (L.) or pseudominutus (Strand)	10	7	-	7	-	-
Enicmus sp.	-	-	-	-	1	-
Dienerrella ruficollis (Marsh.)	1	-	-	-	-	-
Corticarina spp.	7	4	6	16	7	3
Cis sp.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Teredus cylindricus (Ol.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tribolium sp.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Anaspis coastai Em.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Anaspis costai Em.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Anthicus floralis (L.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
?Arhopalus rusticus (L.)	-	-	-	-	1	-
Grammoptera ruficornis (L.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Donacia sp.	-	-	-	2	-	-
Plateumaris sericea (L.)	-	-	-	2	-	-
Phaedon tumidulus (Germ.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Hydrothassa sp.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Phyllotreta nigripes (F.)	3	3	-	-	3	1
P. vittula Redt.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Longitarsus spp.	6	3	3	4	5	-
Chalcoides aurata (Marsh.)	-	-	1	2	-	-
Chaetocnema concinna (Marsh.)	3	3	3	9	2	2
C. confusa (Boh.) or hortensis (Fourc.)	-	1	-	-	-	-
Apion craccae (L.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Apion spp.	3	3	3	16	-	13
Polydrusus pterygomalist Boh.	-	-	-	-	-	1
Barypaithes pellucidus (Boh.)	-	-	-	2	-	-
Strophosomus faber (Harbst)	1	1	-	2	-	-
Sitona humeralis Steph.	-	-	-	1	-	-
S. lepidus Gyll.	2	1	3	7	-	2
S. suturalis Steph.	-	-	-	3	-	-
Sitona spp.	-	-	-	8	-	-
Hypera sp.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Tanysphyrus lemnae (Payk.)	2	-	1	10	-7	

	8	7	5	2	UB3	UB1
Eremotes ater (L.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Rhyncolus lignarius (Marsh.)	2	1	-	-	-	-
Sitophilus granarius (L.)	1	-	-	1	-	-
Acalles ptinoides (Marsh.)	-	-	1	1	-	-
Bagous sp.	-	-	-	2	-	-
Notaris acridulus (L.)	1	-	-	1	1	1
Ceutorhynchus contractus (Marsh.)	8	7	3	6	2	1
C. pollinarius (Forst.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Ceutorhynchus spp.	-	-	-	3	-	-
Mecinus pyraster (Herbst)	-	-	-	2	-	-
Gymnetron sp.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Rhynchaenus quercus (L.)	-	-	-	2	-	-
Rhynchaenus sp.	-	-	-	1	-	-
Rhamphus pulicarius (Herbst)	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hylesinus crenatus (F.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Leperisinus varius (F.)	-	-	-	4	-	-
Acrantus vittatus (F.)	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total	357	254	158	965	162	222

Fossil Trichoptera BY B.J. WILKINSON

? Rhyacophila sp.	-	-	1	-	-
Holocentropus dubius (Rbr.)	1	30	1	1	-
H. picicornis (Steph.)	-	15	-	-	-
Cyrnus flavidus McL.	2	69	1	1	1
C. trimaculatus (Curtis)	-	1	-	-	-
Lype cf. phaeopa (Steph.)	-	16	-	1	-
Agrypnia sp.	-	5	-	1	1
Phrynganeidae indet.	-	-	1	-	-
Limnephilus flavicornis/ stigma group	4	33	-	17	-
L. cf. lunatus Curtis	-	1	-	-	-
L. rhombicus/politus group	1	-	-	-	-
L. cf. vittatus (F.)	-	4	-	-	-
Limnephilus sp.	w	3	1	2	3
Glyphotaelius pellucidus Retz.	1	2	-	?1	-
Anabolia cf.nervosa Curtis	1	2	-	?1	-
? Chaetopterix sp.	-	2	-	-	-
Athripsodes aterrimus (Steph.)	1	20	1	3	1
A. bilineatus (L.)	-	-	-	1	-
A. cf. cinereus Curtis	-	1	-	-	-
Mystacides longicornis (L.) or M. nigra (L.)	-	2	-	-	-
Triaenodes bicolor (Curtis)	-	7	-	-	-
total	11	211	6	32	6

order of species according to Limnofauna Europaea. w= wings

SUMMARY

The evidence (summarised in Fig. 3) shows that the moat was originally filled with fairly clean water, possibly flowing, supporting an aquatic and bankside flora and fauna. There was a range of overhanging trees and shrubs by the moat, and probably old-

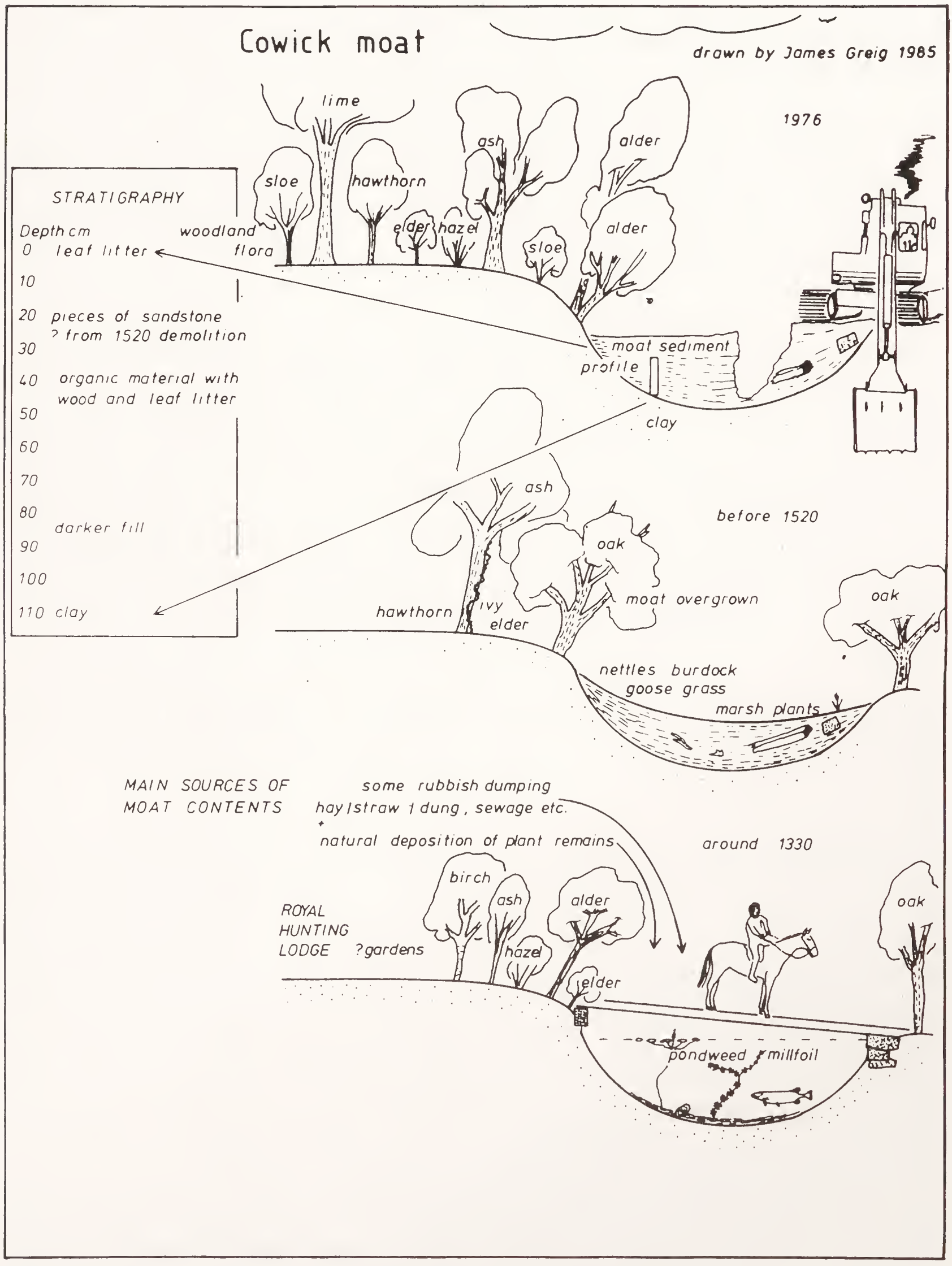


Fig. 3. Summary of moat flora.

established forest as well. The surrounding land probably supported mixed farming with arable land, meadow and pasture in addition to the woodland. Various kinds of rubbish were dumped into the moat, including some fæcal material, and it gradually silted up and became more organic in nature. It is a very rare and important group of finds from a rural and well-dated site such as this: the cereals wheat, rye and oats were present, and other field crops were flax, broad bean, brassicas and hemp. Fruitstones and pips of damson, apple and sour cherry were found (and probably grown locally), and the pollen shows that there were walnut trees. The spice fennel was found, and fig and grape, these last two probable imports. All the edible plants are likely to have been deposited in the moat as food waste or sewage, although the flax and hop/hemp records and those of other field crops such as cereals could also represent crop waste products such as straw. There was also many beetles of stored products found. The moat seems to have become progressively overgrown, but no signs of clearing-out were detected. The destruction of the buildings is probably marked by stone in the profile, and the upper deposits are probably comparatively recent.

Introduction

The environmental fieldwork was carried out by Paul Buckland and James Greig during the excavation of the moat in 1976. The present-day vegetation consisted of a quite well-developed woodland which grew on the area within the moat. There were mature ash trees with trunk diameters up to about 3 ft and a single specimen each of oak and lime. Around the moat itself grew alder, with an understory of hawthorn and elder (although the latter did not appear to be flowering in the shade from the overstory) and hazel. There was a ground flora of woodland herbs such as bluebells, enchanter's nightshade *(Circæa lutetiana)* etc. with plants which are also common in hedgerows and waste places, such as *Urtica* (nettle), *Alliaria petiolata* (hedge mustard), *Galium aparine* (goosegrass), *Veronica* (violet), *Ranunculus* (buttercup), *Arctium* (burdock), *Poa* (grass), and *Rumex* (dock). The edges of the moat were much disturbed by the dredging work which occasioned the excavation, but *Ranunculus sceleratus* (celery-leaved water crowfoot) was seen, and there had probably been a fairly rich aquatic and bankside flora while the moat was still undisturbed. The surrounding fields have a light sandy soil which was planted with peas immediately next to the moat, and with spring barley further away, at the time of the fieldwork.

The Sampling

Samples for macrofossil analyses (mainly beetles and seeds) were collected by Dr. P. Buckland and M. Dolby from suitable places, such as those taken from Area 2 of the excavation. Column 1 comprised a complete sequence of the organic silts from near the inner bank on the eastern side. For the beetle work the column was divided into samples at 10 cm intervals, sample 8 being the bottom one, but samples 1, 4 and 6 deteriorated during storage, so it is only possible to present results from the remaining five samples. Column 1 corresponds approximately to the profile for pollen analysis mentioned.

In addition, samples were taken from the site of the bridge across the moat. Sample UB1 ("under bridge") was from sediments above UB3 and sealed beneath a fallen plank. UB1 corresponds to the sample investigated for plant macrofossils. Sample UB1 belonged to an early part of the sedimentary sequence under the timbers from the bridge and two such samples were also investigated for plant macrofossils.

A profile 110 cm deep was cleared in the remaining moat sediment which was sampled for pollen analysis (Fig. 3). At the top there was leaf litter which probably represented the present moat bed; 20 cm down there were fragments of sandstone which may have come from the destruction of the buildings on the site at the end of the medieval period,

thus sealing the lower layers. Beneath the stony layer there was organic material right down to the basal clays into which the moat had been cut in 1323. The stratigraphy diagram shows this pictorially: Fig. 3). The excavation was carried out under conditions of salvage archaeology.

METHODS

Plant Macrofossils

The material was organic, in which plant remains would normally be abundant, and indeed this was the case. One litre subsamples of this material were broken down in warm water and sieved on different meshes so that there were three size fractions for sorting: more than 4 mm (150 ml), 4-1 mm (200 ml) and 1-0.3 mm (100 ml). The remains from the first litre were used for seed counts, which are given as absolute numbers, while succeeding litre subsamples were used to find the rarer seeds (the presence of which is given as "+"), or to provide better specimens to make the identifications of various taxa more certain. The scanning of further samples was extremely worthwhile and provided many important records, such as those of apple, grape and fennel, as well as a number of other taxa, although eventually shortage of time stopped further searching. Apart from seeds, there were many remains of buds, thorns and some mosses which could be identified. There was a mass of rotten wood fragments and twigs, lumps of charcoal and a few worked wood chips.

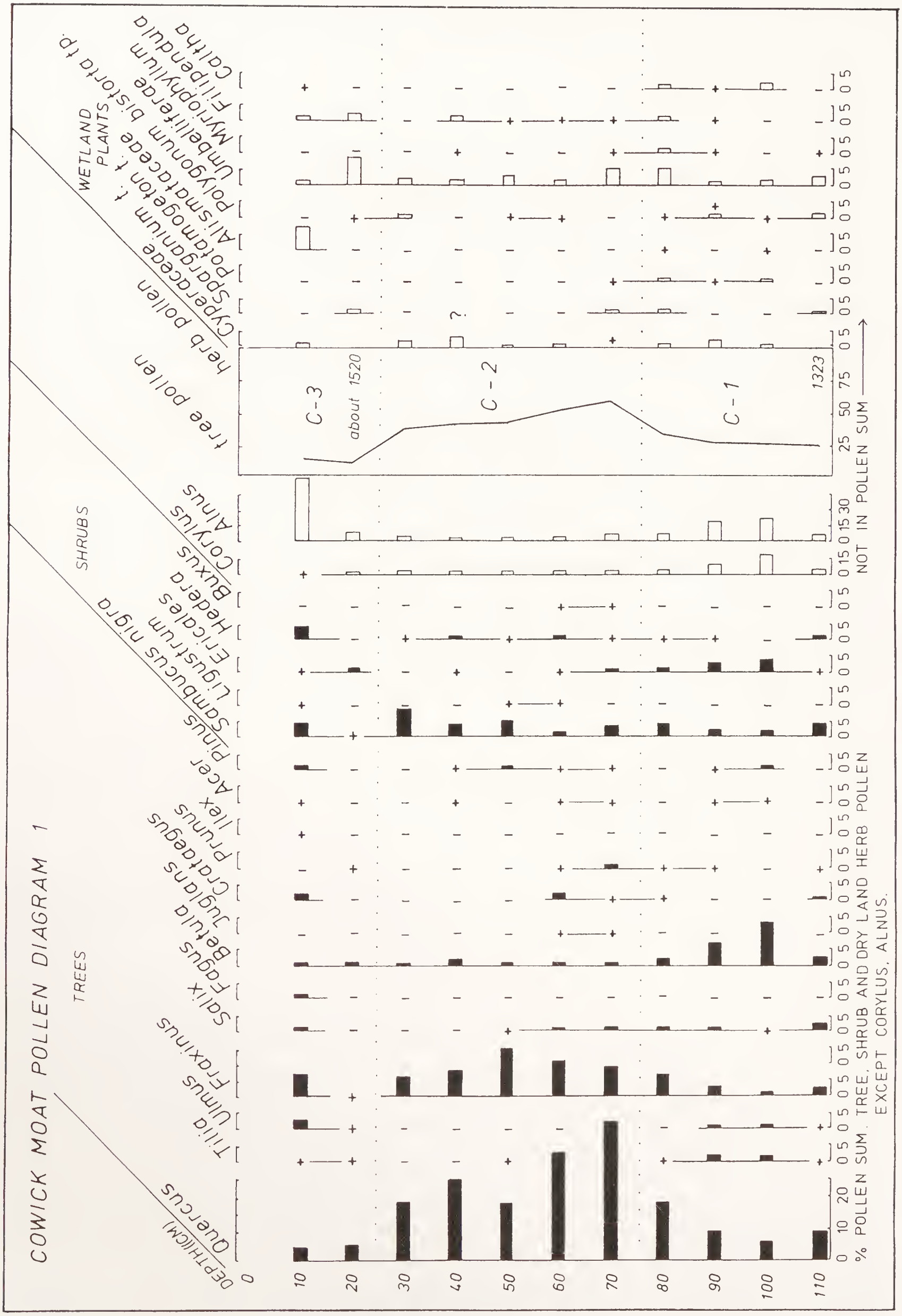
The plant names and taxonomic order are according to Clapham et al. (1962) for higher plants and ferns, Smith (1978) and Watson (1955) for mosses, with a few new names from Jahns 1983). Non-plant material seen included insect remains, fish scales and bones, small mammal bone, molluscs (which could only just be detected as they were largely decalcified), caddis cases, fly puparia, small pieces of coal and a scrap of leather. The pollen preparation from this sample contained an ovum of the intestinal parasite *Trichuris*. A few macrofossils from another sample (sample 8 Area 2 Column 1) were studied.

Beetles

The samples analysed for beetles weighed about 5 Kg. Insect remains were recovered by the standard paraffin flotation technique (Coope and Osborne 1967), and they were both well-preserved and abundant. Three insect orders were dominant in the Cowick samples, beetles (Coleopera), flies (Diptera), especially Chironomidae which were numerous in the higher silts, and caddis (Trichoptera). In the following lists (Table 2), totals for every taxon represent the minimum number of individuals in each layer, and nomenclature for Coleoptera follows Kloet and Hincks (1977).

Pollen analysis

This was done in the usual way. Preservation was very good and permitted more than usually detailed identifications to be made. After a count of 350-400 grains (not counting *Alnus, Corylus* and aquatics) had been made from each preparation, the queried grains were checked thoroughly, and the rest of the slide scanned under low power to record the presence of rarer grains. The pollen diagram (Figures 4 & 5) is drawn up in ecological sections, such as "trees" or "grassland", inasmuch as they can be accurately identified from pollen records. Inevitably, there is a fairly large section labelled "various", although the accompanying macrofossil records often give clues to the plant species likely to be represented by some of these pollen types. Thus the Umbelliferae records are among aquatics because most of the Umbellifer seeds were of *Oenanthe aquatica* (water dropwort) which belongs in this group, and the presence of other non-aquatic Umbellifers was ignored. Within the ecological groups, the pollen types are listed in


COWICK MOAT POLLEN DIAGRAM 1
TREES
SHRUBS
WETLAND PLANTS
herb pollen
tree pollen
DEPTH(CM)
Quercus
Tilia
Ulmus
Fraxinus
Salix
Fagus
Betula
Juglans
Crataegus
Prunus
Ilex
Acer
Pinus
Sambucus nigra
Ligustrum
Ericales
Hedera
Buxus
Corylus
Alnus
Cyperaceae
Sparganium
Potamogeton t.
Alisma
Polygonum
Umbelliferae
Myriophyllum
Filipendula
Caltha
C-3
about 1520
C-2
C-1
1323
? ?
0 5 0 5 0 15 0 15 30
NOT IN POLLEN SUM
0 5 0 5 0 5

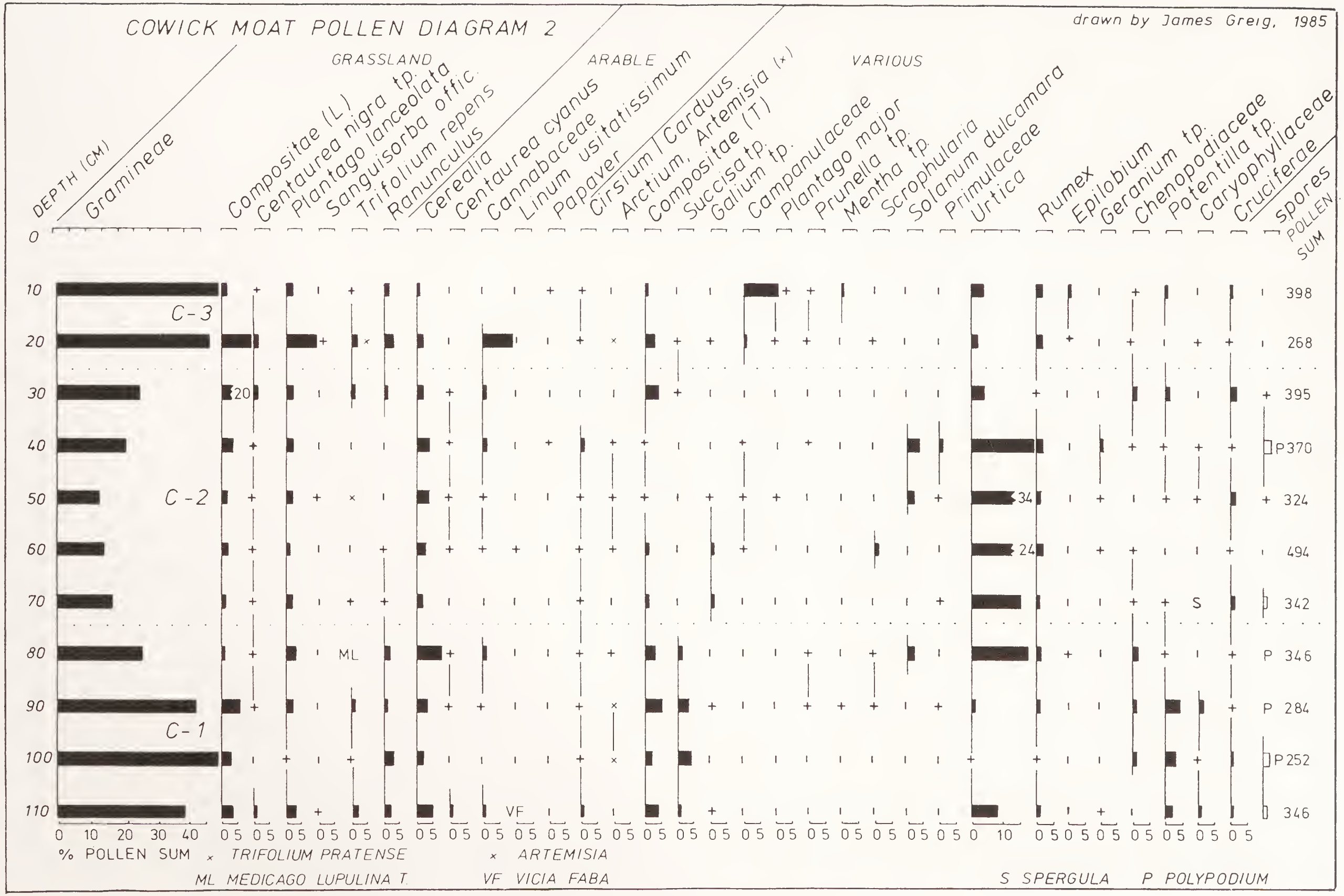


Fig. 5. Pollen diagram: grassland, arable and various plants.

reverse taxonomic order. The pollen and spore records are also listed in the plant list in capitals.

RESULTS

Ecological Interpretations from the beetle fauna

The insects from the successive sediments of the moat appear to indicate the normal sequence of colonisation of a newly created pond, with the habitat diversity increasing as the vegetation in and around the moat matured. As the rate of sedimentation slowed down, so the concentration of insect remains in the sediments increased, Sample 2 containing many more beetles than the earlier samples. As well as the aquatic and pond-edge species, two other groups of insects are represented; those which reflect the surrounding landscape and synanthropic species (occurring with man) most probably from nearby the manor house. These three aspects of the environment are discussed separately.

The evidence from the plants can be added to this, with the first group including the aquatic and wetland flora of the moat and its immediate surroundings. The surrounding landscape includes evidence of woodland, grassland and other plant communities such as heathland. Signs of arable land and weeds may represent just that, or things brought in to the manor house. The plant remains also feature some crop plants and other things connected with occupation of the site.

The moat

Three stages in the development of the aquatic environment of the moat can be recognised from the insect assemblages. The stages are:
a) clear, open, still water,
b) still water with well developed aquatic and some pond-edge vegetation
c) shallow well-vegetated stagnant water grading into shaded marsh at the margin.

The evidence comes from both the Coleoptera (beetles) and the Trichoptera (caddis fly cases) and the latter are very sensitive indicators of aquatic conditions. There is only slight evidence for flowing water conditions from any of the insect assemblages. None of the caddis larvae identified with certainty require moving water. The only water beetles which require well-oxygenated water with some movement were the elmids *Esolus parallelepipoedus* and *Oulimnius tuberculatus* and these may have relied on flow from the small stream, entering at the north end of the moat.

The majority of beetles from the earliest sample in the sequence, sample 8, belonged to two species of water-beetles which readily colonise newly created bodies of standing water: *Helophorus brevipalpis* and *Ochthebius minimus*. Few caddis larvae were present. There were few Carabidae of well-vegetated waterside habitats whereas there were some Staphylinidae of wet mud: *Lesteva longoelytrata* and *Carpelimus* sp. *O. minimus* is amphibious and also occurs on mud around ponds.

The beetles of Samples 7 and 5 show little difference from the fauna of Sample 8, but Sample 7 contained a rich caddis fauna. The polycentropodids *Holocentropus dubius* and *Cyrnus flavidus* were particularly abundant. They are net-spinning predators which are restricted to still water, *H. dubius* attaching its nets to aquatic vegetation. Sample UB3 showed a more developed fauna of Carabidae of waterside habitats than either Samples 7 or 5.

The pollen results also seem to show that the lower sediment (sub-zone C1 on the pollen diagram), up to about 70 cm, has more signs of aquatic plants such as *Sparganium* (bur-reed), Potamogetonaceae (pondweeds) and *Myriophyllum* (millfoils) which therefore represent standing water rather than marsh or wet ground. There are macrofossil records of several more plants which are indicative of aquatic habitats, and therefore of a moat filled with water for most of the time: *Ceratophyllum* (hornwort), *Oenanthe aquatica*

(water dropwort), *Alisma lanceolatum* (water plantain), *Potamogetonaceae* (pondweeds) and *Lemna* (duckweed). *Scirpus* (spike-rush), *Sparganium* (bur-reed), some of the *Carices* (sedges) and *Glyceria* (reed-grass) grow in standing water at the edge of a watercourse and are therefore more indication of wet conditions. As the macrofossil sample comes from the lowest deposits, the evidence from pollen and seeds agrees well with that from the beetles and caddis flies about the waterfilled state of the moat then.

The caddis fauna of Sample 2 is indicative of changing conditions as the moat became silted. The almost total disappearance of the polycentropodids was probably the result of the water becoming more eutrophic (nutrient-rich). The occurrence of *Glyphotaelius pellucidus*, which makes its case of dead tree leaves, suggests shaded shallow water. The rich fauna of water beetles included *Hygrotus inaequalis* and *Hydrobius fuscipes,* which tend to occur in stagnant ponds with detritus-rich bottoms (Balfour-Browne 1940, 203; 1958, 18). *Dytiscus circumflexus*, a rather rare species of great water beetle was also present. The weevil *Tanysphyrus lemnae* was well represented, providing further evidence of its host plant, duckweed (*Lemna* sp.) the seeds of which were also found (referred to above). There were many Carabidae of well-vegetated waterside habitats, particularly from the genera *Bembidion*, *Pterostichus* and *Agonum*, including *Bembidion clarki* and *Agonum obscurum*, species of marshes and the edges of ponds under woodland (Lindroth 1974, 58, 82).

Marshland plants which would grow on damp ground rather than in water are present: *Ranunculus* cf. *lingua* and *Ranunculus flammula* (spearworts), also *R. sceleratus* (celery-leaved crowfoot) which was still growing on the site during the excavations, *Montia fontana* (blinks), *Filipendula* (meadowsweet), *Rorippa* (watercress), *Apium inundatum* (a wild celery), *Sonchus palustris* (marsh sow thistle), *Polygonum hydropiper* (water-pepper), *Menyanthes trifoliata* (bogbean), *Galium palustre* (marsh cleavers), *Achillea ptarmica* (sneezewort) and many of the rushes and sedges. The macrofossils probably represent bankside vegetation growing beside the waterfilled moat. With the relative scarcity of signs of aquatic plants in the upper part of the pollen diagram, however, the plant evidence agrees again with that from beetles even though the marshland flora cannot easily be recognised in the pollen diagram.

A very small number of bones were recovered from the botanical samples, and although this cannot count as proper sampling, the results obtained by Andrew Jones are useful: there was a precaudal vertebra and a pelvic skeleton of *Gasterosteus aculeatus* (stickleback), a scale from a young *Esox lucius* (pike) and an ilium from *Rana temporaria* (frog). Although frogs and sticklebacks will inhabit very small ponds and ditches, the presence of pike could suggest that the moat was large and well filled enough to support this size of fish, or it could merely have come from bird droppings, from a travelling heron perhaps. An humerus of *Microtus agrestis* (field vole), was identified by Terry O'Connor, but since this is a land creature with no great penchant for swimming, it or the remains must have somehow fallen in.

Mollusc remains were few, and what there were seemed to show signs of being dissolved, so the ground water seems to have been somewhat acidic. *Pisidium* (pea mussel) was noted, along with the remains of a larger kind of mussel in a very fragmentary state, possibly a pond mussel, and the opercula of an aquatic snail such as a species of *Lymnaea*. This is extra evidence for fairly clean water during the early stages of the moat history. Marine molluscs are mentioned below.

The manor house and bridge structures

A proportion of the Coleoptera from the samples might have been derived from in and around the manor house. They include grain beetles, also beetles which infest structural timbers and finally beetles which live in decaying organic material. These beetles were present in all the samples and there does not seem to have been significant variation in

their numbers between samples, suggesting a similar "intensity" of occupation throughout the accumulation of the first 0.8 m of sediments in the moat. The Coleoptera that possibly lived in close association with the occupants of the manor have been divided into four groups (Table 3, 7-10).

Table 3: PERCENTAGE OF TERRESTRIAL COLEOPTERA

Species Grouping	Column 1				Under Bridge		
	8	7	5	2	UB3	UB1	total
1. Aquatic	83	56	80	82.1	88	41	73.7
2. Pasture/Dung	2	4	5	9.1	4	6	6.1
3. ? Meadowland	3	3	7	6.8	0	10	5.5
4. Wood and Trees	2	1	5	5.1	4	2	3.5
5. Wetland Plants	2	0	1	3.2	1	5	2.4
6. Disturbed Ground/Arable	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.2
7. Dung/Foul Organic Material	7	4	7	6.0	1	15	6.8
8. Lathridiidae	11	7	7	4.5	11	2	6.2
9. Synanthropic	6	3	6	4.3	5	1	4.1
10. Timbers, esp. structural	3	3	5	3.6	2	1	2.9
11. Grassland, on roots	0	0	1	0.6	1	1	0.6
Total Number of Terrestrial Individuals	195	163	88	530	86	157	1219

Species in groupings:
1. water beetles, defined as species that can spend a significant part of their adult life under water;
2. dung beetles from the genera *Geotrupes, Colobopterus, Aphodius* and *Onthophagus;*
3. weevils of the genera *Apion* (excluding mallow-, nettle- and willow-feeding species) and *Sitona* (excluding shrub-feeding species);
4. wood- and tree-feeding Coleoptera plus fungus feeders and predators that are strictly associated with wood. *Anobium punctatum* has been excluded:
5. Chrysomelidae and Curculionoideae that feed on marsh or aquatic plants;
6. *Agonum dorsale* and *Harpalus rufipes;*
7. *Cercyon* spp., *Megasternum* sp., *Cryptopleurum* spp., *Anotylus rugosus* and *Platystethus arenarius;*
8. *Lathridiidae;*
9. *Tipnus unicolor, Ptinus fur, Oryzaephilus surinamensis, Mycetaea hirta, Tribolium* sp. and *Sitophilus granarius;*
10. *Anobium punctatum* (woodworm).
11. *Phyllopertha horticola, Athous* sp. and *Agriotes* sp.

The members of Species Grouping 7, in this case mostly *Megasturnum obscurum* and *Anotylus rugosus*, live in foul organic material, including cattle droppings on pasture and manure heaps. The abundance of these species, at 6.8% of the terrestrial Coleoptera, was not particularly high and need not imply particularly unpleasant conditions around the manor. There would probably have been sufficient natural habitats for the beetles. Grouping 8, the Lathridiidae, are mostly beetles which occur on mouldy plant material ranging from leaf litter in grass tussocks to haysack bottoms and old thatch. Their abundance, at 6.2% of the terrestrial Ceoleoptera, is unsurprising for an occupation site without large quantities of decaying plant material.

The next group of species in Table 3, 9, usually occur indoors. *Tipnus unicolor* and *Ptinus fur* have been recorded from natural habitats, such as birds' nests. However, they commonly live inside buildings in association with granary refuse, damp hay and straw, or stale fragments of starchy foods in neglected corners. They can perhaps live in thatch. *Mycetaea hirta* is a fungal feeder which most often occurs in buildings, particularly if the dry rot fungus is present. Osborne (in Greig 1981, 268-71) notes that *T. unicolor* and *M. hirta* are often found in medieval cesspits and suggests that they were feeding on the contents. The author believes it more likely that they were living elsewhere but that they

fell in or deposited there with other organic rubbish from indoors, flooring perhaps. *Oryzaephilus surinamensis*, *Tribolium* sp. and *Sitophilus granarius* are all grain beetles which can be very serious pests of stored cereals. They do not normally occur in other habitats in Britain.

Anobium punctatum, the woodworm beetle, comprises the final category in Table 3 of beetles that tend to be favoured by human habitation and structures. It tunnels in dead dry wood, both hardwood and softwood; with the exception of kiln-dried timbers, it does not attack recently dead wood. Such a habitat is comparatively rare in nature and *A. punctatum* is not a particularly common beetle in woodland. However, structural timbers provide an ideal habitat and it is a serious pest in buildings. The abundance of this beetle shown in Table 3, 10 strongly suggests the proximity of infested timbers.

Three other species of wood boring beetles from the Anobiidae, *Grynobius planus*, *Xestobium rufovillosum* and *Ptilnus pectinicornis*, were also identified from the samples. All can damage hardwood structural timbers, indeed *X. rufovillosum* is the notorious deathwatch beetle. *P. pectinicornis* has been recorded from waterlogged urban medieval deposits from York and Oxford in company with *A. punctatum* (Buckland 1974, 311; Robinson in Palmer 1980, M2G04). The absence of other woodland insects from these sites suggests that *P. pectinicornis* was formerly a more serious pest of timber buildings than at present. *X. rufovillosum* attacks dead hardwoods, principally oak and willow, that have experienced fungal invasion. Buckland (1979, 96-98) considers in detail the archaeological significance of the deathwatch beetle. He notes that modern outdoor records become progressively rarer north of Oxfordshire and its native status outdoors in Yorkshire/Humberside is now uncertain. In contrast, many populations are known from buildings in the York area. However, towards the north of its range *X. rufovillosum* does not fly because the summers are not warm enough now, and consequently it has little or no ability to colonise isolated buildings by using its own dispersive powers. The initial infestation of such buildings probably resulted from the use of infested timbers. The discovery of a specimen of *X. rufovillosum* from a late Bronze Age deposit at Thorne Moors, Humberside, (Buckland 1979, 33) confirms that wild populations formerly existed in the area and raised the question whether it might have been able to spread during times of warm climate. The final anobiid, *G. planus* attacks various dry dead hardwoods such as old oak stumps and dead wood in hedges. Given the other evidence for trees at Cowick (see below), there is no reason to assume that these beetles were attacking structural timbers.

Cultivated plants and their weeds

The botanical evidence for things connected with the manor is somewhat different in nature to that from the beetles remains; occasionally, however, it adds something.

Cereal pollen was abundant. There were also macrofossils which were found in the form of waterlogged pericarp (bran), culm nodes, and some possible wheat rhachis (identified by Lisa Moffett) as well as charred wheat macrofossils, a good sign that grain was probably processed and used on the manor site, although some of the pollen could also have been blown in from the adjacent fields. There is more cereal pollen in the lower part of the diagram (C1), which probably represents the deposition of cereal material in the moat, rather than pollen blowing in from local cornfields, since chaff and straw contain much cereal pollen (Greig 1982), a much more likely source. It is interesting that grain-eating beetles were also recorded – it is one thing to assume that grain stores were all infested with these pests, but quite another to recover good evidence of both grain and weevils from the part of the site that was not actually occupied! The threshing debris, straw, etc. may have been the result of the processing of small batches of cereals, or it could easily have come from chaff and straw used for animal fodder, bedding or building material. When discarded it could have harboured part of the indoor insect fauna of

rotting plant material discussed above. Aspects such as these make the Cowick results extremely important, for it is a site with an abundance of remains relating to occupation, yet unusually it is also fully rural, in contrast to the medieval latrine- and rubbish pits found in some towns.

Other crops

There is a small but constant record of Cannabaceae (hops or hemp) throughout the pollen diagram, with a peak of 9% at 20 cm, an amount that may show that *Cannabis sativa* (hemp) was deposited in the moat in some form, either for retting to extract the fibres or as hempen waste (pollen analysis of hemp cable from the "Mary Rose" shows that even in a finished state, hemp pollen is abundant, Greig, unpubl.). Hemp was a usual garden crop then, used to provide rope for harnesses etc. The smaller amounts of Cannabaceae pollen in the rest of the diagram could possibly also be from hemp, or from *Humulus lupulus* (hop) growing wild in the scrub. The question was not resolved by macrofossil evidence despite the sieving and scanning of large amounts of extra material in the hope of finding either hemp or hop seeds.

Linum usitatissimum (flax) is also present in the pollen records which is slightly unusual since flax seems to be such an extremely small producer of pollen, about 200 grains per flower (Greig, unpubl.). Flax macrofossils were found, both seeds and capsule fragments. It is hard to say whether these rather few remains are more likely to be from flax straw used for animal bedding, or whether flax was actually retted (a part of the process for preparing the fibre) in the moat. This area was formerly known for flax cultivation (P. C. Buckland, pers. comm.).

A single pollen grain of *Vicia faba* (bean) was found. Beans do not produce much pollen, and so the pollen records are scarce, and macrofossil records are likewise rare as beans do not survive well in the waterlogged state and the fragments are hard to recognise. Beans are, however, considered a fairly important medieval foodstuff, and occasional finds of charred foodstores are sometimes rich in bean remains (Buurman 1981), as are some waterlogged remains (Greig 1988). The bean weevil was not found. *Brassica* seeds were found, which could represent a kind of cabbage although the precise identification is difficult.

Two very interesting crop finds are *Ficus carica* (fig) and *Vitis vinifera* (grape). These are very probably imports, although it has recently been shown that figs grown in Britain can produce some fully-formed seeds (M. Robinson, pers. comm.), and there is some documentary evidence of medieval British viticulture. Figs and raisins were very popular in the medieval period, it is known, both from historical and archaeobotanical evidence (Greig 1983), but these are rather remarkable finds from such a rural site, even though Cowick has royal connections. These, and the other fruit pips of *Malus sylvestris* (apple) and stones of *Prunus cerasus* (sour cherry) and *Prunus insititia* (damson/bullace) and also the seed of the spice *Foeniculum* (fennel), most probably arrived in the moat deposits in the form of domestic refuse and/or human excrement. Some other edible plants such as bramble could have been deposited in this way as well, but as blackberries are so common in hedgerows it cannot be considered a certain food plant. A further sign of faeces is the find in a pollen preparation of *Trichuris* ova, from an intestinal parasite possible living in a human (otherwise probably a pig), although this is not much – latrine fills contain thousands per cubic centimetre.

THE SURROUNDING LANDSCAPE

The proportion of wood and tree-dependent Coleoptera from the samples (Table 3, 4) suggests that the environs of the manor house were open countryside but with a significant presence of trees. It is uncertain from the beetle evidence whether the general landscape was open, and rather treeless or whether, in addition, there was more

extensive woodland beyond the open area. Even if some of the Anobiidae included in the grouping of wood and tree- development beetles in Table 3, 4 were in fact associated with the timbers of the bridge or manor house buildings (see above), the Coleoptera suggest that there was more than just a hedgerow presence of trees and shrubs. There were several woodland species amongst the Carabidae including beetles which occur amongst leaf litter on the woodland floor, such as *Patrobus atrorofus* and *Calathus micropterus*, and a beetle which occurs under bark, *Bembidion harpaloides* (Lindroth 1974, 41, 55, 77). The more host-specific shrub and tree feeding beetles indicate the presence of willow or poplar, oak, ash and perhaps elm. They included leaf feeders, such as *Rhynchaenus quercus*, bark beetles such as *Hylesinus crenatus* which attack moribund branches and weevils which bore into decaying wood, such as *Rhynchaenus lignarius*.

A tentative identification was made of the cerambycid *Arhopalus rusticus*, but this beetle feeds on pine and its present British range is restricted to Scotland (Joy 1982, 382).

Also present was the colydiid *Teredus cylindricus*. It is a predator which occurs on oak and beech under bark and in the tunnels of wood boring insects (Freude et al. 1967, 211). *T. cylindricus* is now an extremely rare "old woodland" species. The only recent British records are from Sherwood Forest and Windsor Forest, both sites with venerable parkland oaks and rich old woodland faunas (Donisthorpe 1939, 60-1). The beetle galleries that it has been recorded from include those *Xestobium rufovillosum, Anobium punctatum* and *Ptilinus pectinicornis*, all species identified from the Cowick samples. Its presence raises the possibility that a vestige of ancient woodland had survived at Cowick. Interestingly, *T. cylindricus* was identified from a late Bronze Age deposit 10 km S.E. at Thorne Moors (Buckland 1979, 95-6).

Botanical evidence for woodland and scrub

There is fairly plentiful evidence of woodland and scrub vegetation in the form of 25-50% tree and shrub pollen (in which *Corylus* (hazel) and *Alnus* (alder) are not counted). *Quercus* (oak), *Fraxinus* (ash) and *Sambucus nigra* (elder), listed in descending abundance of pollen, are the most important pollen records and may reflect in part how abundantly and close to the moat they grew in the past, too, although pollen representation is also an important factor. Hazel and alder were also abundant. It is not possible to tell whether the site was rather overgrown, or whether they were just a few trees in a position for their pollen to fall directly into the moat, just as with the beetle evidence also. *Crataegus* (hawthorn), *Prunus* type (sloe etc.) and *Viburnum* (guelder rose etc.) have rather a slight pollen record, although they distribute so little pollen that almost any pollen record at all indicates that they might have been abundant.

There are some interesting records, such as *Juglans* (walnut), *Ligustrum* (privet) and *Buxus* (box), which were probably planted rather than growing wild. A slight trend in the tree and shrub pollen records is that they are increased in C2 (70-30 cm) showing that the moat and its surroundings became more overgrown at that stage. It is possible that occupation of the manor itself was sporadic and that the site became rather overgrown between times.

The macrofossil evidence of trees and shrubs parallels that from the pollen, with finds of macrofossils from most of the trees and shrubs on the pollen diagram, although represented differently: a single acorn and oak buds, ash fruit remains and leaf scars (this compares with abundant oak and ash pollen), willow fruit capsules and buds, little sign of birch and none of walnut but plenty of seeds and catkins of alder. Hawthorn seeds were found, and the thorns were therefore probably from this rather than sloe, and rose thorns and possibly hips were found. The shrubs elder and hazel showed up in many seeds and nutshells respectively, but macrofossils of holly, maple, pine were not found. A *Populus* cf. *tremula* (poplar) bud scale was found, a cherry stone and a damson stone,

the last two corresponding to the slight *Prunus* type pollen record. The bud, twig and some other identifications were done by P. R. Tomlinson, (Tomlinson 1985). These records show which trees may have grown around the moat thus overhanging it, and so providing extremely good conditions for the preservation of some part or other. There is a very close correlation between pollen and macrofossil finds, in terms of the taxa recorded. Many of the mosses identified by Sandra Nye are usually found in woodland, therefore providing more evidence of the wooded nature of the surroundings. The trees and scrub could have been growing very locally around the moat in an otherwise very open landscape, as discussed above in connection with the beetles. Macrofossils from trees are generally poorly dispersed and are therefore likely to be found only where there are good conditions for the preservation of remains close by where they grew, such as here. The evidence of "old forest" and other arboreal insects, and the very presence of a hunting lodge may, however, provide some evidence that there was a wooded landscape in the vicinity.

Woodland grades into scrub and also hedge without there being many clear ecological signs and to show which is represented, although in the very large Cowick flora there are numerous records of plants that would seem to indicate the local presence of scrub vegetation with some trees, rather than more undisturbed woodland. Prominent among the possible scrub indicators are the thorny rosaceous plants such as *Rosa* (wild rose), *Rubus* (bramble), *Prunus* (sloe) and *Crataegus* (hawthorn), and herbs such as *Galium aparine* (sticky willy), *Calystegia* (bindweed), *Epilobium* (willowherb), *Torilis* (hedge-parsley), *Urtica* (nettle) and *Malva* (mallow) which are commonly found in scrub, even though they also grow in other places too. The type of site, with occupation and activety close by, would also make the presence of scrub likely.

Pasture, meadow and hay

Grassland comprised one, possibly the main aspect, of the open landscape according to beetle evidence. The weevils included various species which feed on grassland herbs such as ribwort plantain, clovers and vetches (Table 4). However, the evidence for the type of grassland is not clear. The abundance of dung beetles such as *Aphodius* spp., which feed on animal droppings on pasture, was not high enough to suggest that cattle or other domestic herbivores congregated in the vicinity of the moat or that their dung was dumped there (Table 3, 2). Grassland weevils which tend to be particularly numerous in hay meadows were well represented (Table 3, 3). While their abundance was insufficient to give an unequivocal indication of meadowland, it is possible that the grassland in the vicinity of the moat was only lightly grazed or that the remains were brought to the site with hay.

The results from Sample Column 1 show an increase in both the dung beetles and the wood and tree dependent beetles as the sediments accumulated (Table 3, 2, 4). Such apparently conflicting results could be explained if trees around the moat were neglected but the grassland was more intensively used for pasture, or more grassland products such as animal dung were dumped there.

The pollen records thought to be most likely to represent grassland are grouped in the second part of the pollen diagram (Fig. 5). There is abundant Gramineae (grass) pollen of which at least some probably came from grassland on dry land, although the presence of seeds of aquatic grasses *(Glyceria)* shows that some of the grass pollen came from wetland vegetation. The same problem exists with *Ranunculus* type pollen (buttercups etc.) which could have come from wetland or dry land *Ranunculi*, both of which are present. The Compositae L pollen seems more likely to be from grassland (taxa like *Leontodon*, hawkbit) and other dry land vegetation. Other pollen types provide very clear evidence of grassland, such as *Plantago lanceolata* (ribwort plantain), *Trifolium repens* and

Table 4: PHYTOPHAGOUS BEETLES AND THEIR HOST PLANTS

Beetle	Plant(s)	m = macrofossil, p = pollen	
AQUATIC AND WATERSIDE PLANTS			
Tanysphyrus lemnae	*Lemna*	m	duckweed
Plateumaris sericea	*Carex* spp.	m,p	sedges, Iris
Notaris acridulus	*Carex* spp.	m,p	sedges, aquatic grasses
HERBACEOUS PLANTS			
Phyllotreta nigripes	*Rorippa* etc.	m,p	watercress etc.
P. vittula	*Rorippa*	m,p	watercress etc.
Ceutorhynchus contracius	*Rorippa*	m,p	watercress etc.
Chaetocnema concinne	*Polygonum* spp	m,p	knotgrass etc. beet
Apion craccae	*Vicia*	–	(vetch, vetchling, peas)
Mecinus pyraster	*Plantago lanceolata*	p	ribwort plantain
Sitona humeralis	*Trifolium*	m,p	Clover, (vetch etc.)
S. lepidus	*Trifolium*	m,p	Clover
S. suturalis	*Trifolium*	m,p	Clover
Strophosomus faber	*Gramineae*	m,p	grass, low plants
Ceutorhynchus pollinarius	*Urtica*	m,p	nettles
Phaedon tumidulus	*Heracleum*	m,p	cow parsnip, other umbellifers
Hydrothassa sp.	*Ranunculus* spp	m,p	buttercups, other Ranunculaceae
Barypeithes pellucidus	*Medicago*	m,p	Black medick (adults polyphagous)
SHRUBS, TREES AND ROTTING WOOD			
Chalcoides aurata	*Salix*	m,p	willow, poplar
Rhamphus pulicarius	*Salix*	m,p	willow
Rhynchaenus quercus	*Quercus*	m,p	oak
Polydrusus pterygomalis	*Quercus*	m,p	young oak, (hazel, beech, other deciduous trees)
Eremotes ater	*Pinus*	p	Decaying Scots pine, (oak and other deciduous trees)
Rhyncolus lignarius	*Ulmus, Hedera*	p	decaying elm, ivy, oak etc.
Hylesinus crenatus	*Fraxinus*	m,p	moribund branches of ash, (occasionally other deciduous trees)
Leperisinus varius	*Fraxinus*	m,p	moribund branches of ash, (occasionally other deciduous trees)
Acrantus vittatus	*Ulmus*	p	dead elm, (ash)

T. pratense (white and red clover), *Medicago lupulina* (black medick), *Lotus* type (birdsfoot trefoil) and *Centaurea nigra* (knapweed). There are some indications of rather damp grassland from *Sanguisorba officinalis* (greater burnet), and perhaps from *Filipendula* (meadowsweet) and *Caltha* (kingcup) pollen. The grassland records are greatest at the bottom of the pollen diagram (C1) and the top (C3).

There is also reasonably good macrofossil evidence for grassland with 25 fairly characteristic grassland taxa identified, although the evidence is somewhat different in character; grass records are very slight (probably due to lack of preservation), and plantain or knapweed nonexistent. In many cases the macrofossil records correspond to pollen types already mentioned: ?*Poa* (Gramineae), *Leontodon* (Compositae L), *Trifolium* sp. calyx, *Medicago lupulina* seed, *Caltha palustris*, *Filipendula ulmaria*. In many cases, however, the macrofossil indentifications are to species, showing the presence of grassland plants such as *Ranunculus acris* (meadow buttercup), *Cerastium fontanum* (mouse-ear chickweed), *Anthriscus sylvestris* (hedge parsley), *Heracleum sphondylium* (hogweed), *Daucus carota* (wild carrot), *Prunella vulgaris* (self-heal), *Achillea ptarmica* (sneezewort) and *Leontodon taraxacoides* (hawkbit).

Grassland is difficult to classify as either meadow or pasture when it is present in

remains which may themselves be mixed (Greig 1984, 1986, 1988a), but the range represented seems to include hay meadow, some of it damp, with a range of tall growing plants that do not tolerate much grazing, such as the umbellifers *Anthriscus* and *Heracleum*, and *Centaurea nigra* (knapweed). Drier conditions are shown by plants like *Daucus* (wild carrot) and *Medicago* (medick), and light soils by *Rumex acetosella* (sheeps sorrel).

Not all this grassy material seems to have become preserved as pollen or seeds that just fell into the moat by natural dispersal from grassland growing close by; the habitat range would seem rather too great. Further evidence comes from the beetle evidence (see above) which includes elements of a "compost heap" fauna that would be found in rotting plant material such as animal fodder and bedding, and the dung feeding element is suggestive of dung. Some natural dispersal might be indicated by the plant feeding insects (phytophages) which are present, although some of these are even present in deposits which seem to have very little naturally-dispersed contents, as at Hen Domen (Greig et al. 1982). There is possible historical evidence since the Dawnay family were originally allowed herbage and pasturage at Cowick, as mentioned above.

The grassy meadow vegetation grades into a rough wayside flora with plants such as *Arctium* (burdock) and *Malva sylvestris* (mallow).

Arable land and weeds

There was little evidence from the Coleoptera for the presence of cultivated ground, although beetles are not particularly good indicators of arable (Robinson 1983, 41). Weedy disturbed ground of some sort, however, is suggested by the presence of the weevil *Ceutorhynchus contractus*, which feeds on cruciferous weeds.

The pollen of *Centaurea cyanus* (cornflower) shows the presence of a characteristic weed of cornfields until the introduction of modern agriculture at thebeginning of this century. It is of interest that this moat provides a closely dated horizon of AD 1329 at which point the cornflower is already present. The plant either appears, or seems to become much more common, in medieval deposits around AD 1200, although the difficulties in dating many medieval deposits accurately means that hitherto there have been very few securely dated early horizons with evidence of cornflower. Cornflower is one plant which can be very accurately detected to species level by pollen analysis; seed remains are less common, although they do occur here. Other weeds identified from characteristic pollen types are *Papaver*, and some of the Compositae (T) pollen could be from weeds too.

The macrofossils of weeds of arable land identified from seeds include several which are mainly found on acid sandy soils, such as *Raphanus raphanistrum* (charlock), *Spergula arvensis* (corn spurrey) and *Chrysanthemum segetum* (corn marigold) (which could be the source of some of the Compositae (T) pollen), while most of other weeds of arable land would also grow on this kind of soil: *Papaver dubium*, (long-headed poppy), *Polygonum aviculare* (knotgrass) and *P. convolvulus* (black bindweed), for instance. *Agrostemma githago* (corn cockle) is a typical weed of arable fields before modern farming methods arrived, and *Viola* cf. *tricolor* (wild pansy) is still a weed of arable land. Only a single seed of *Anthemis cotula* (stinking mayweed) was found. It is most common on heavy and sometimes calcareous clay soils, and therefore this soil type may not have occurred much in the locality.

Some weeds are not specifically those of arable land (although many could have been weeds of field crops). *Ranunculus sardous* (a buttercup), for instance, now has a rather restricted (coastal) range although its medieval archaeological record suggests that it used to be far more common inland. Other weed records could represent a range of vegetation which can grow in too many places for it to be possible to be more specific: this is particularly the case with weeds like *Stellaria media* (chickweed), *Chenopodium*

(goosefoot) and *Atriplex* (orache) species or taxa such as *Coronopus squamatus* (swine cress). Others, however could easily be found in rank vegetation growing very near the moat including *Rubus fruticosus* (bramble), *Epilobium* (willowherb), *Conium* (hemlock), various *Rumices* (docks), *Urtica* (nettle), *Calystegia* (bindweed), *Solanum dulcamara* (bittersweet), *Galeopsis* (hemp-nettle), *Galium aparine* (sticky willy), *Arctium* (burdock) and *Cirsium* (various thistles).

Heathland

Although there are several signs from the pollen and macrofossil records that this area was mainly one of sandy soils, the signs of heathland are somewhat slight; there is just a trace of Ericacaceae (heaths and heathers) pollen to show that there was some heathland somewhere in the area or that some heathland products were brought in – nothing more.

Other pollen records

Some pollen records have no macrofossil counterparts, like *Campanulaceae* (bellflowers) which includes quite a range of different taxa, as does *Geranium* type, although many of the members of this last group are woodland plants, and would thus belong locally.

Discussion

The moat can be seen as a very useful preserving medium (because it was waterfilled) which shows what arrived there naturally, such as the very local flora and fauna, and what was flung in by people, ranging from boots and shoes through pottery to rubbish and perhaps dung with plant materials such as remains of hay, straw and food. This then provides a valuable and all too rare chance to find out about those aspects of medieval rural life at Cowick which leave identifiable remains.

The entomological and botanical results from the moat complement each other well. They both suggest a mixed landscape with some woodland and some grassland. The pollen records contain more evidence of woodland with a greater range of trees and shrubs than do those of the Coleoptera, but both sets of results emphasize the importance of *Fraxinus* (ash). The macroscopic plant remains indicate a greater range of aquatic plants in the moat than suggested by the phytophagous Coleoptera, but the insects illustrate well the stagnant conditions. The human occupation of the manor house is reflected in different ways by the two lines of evidence: from the plant remains by the remains of cultivated plants and especially the exotic fruit, but from the insects by the synanthropic species. The sediments in the moat accumulated over the two centuries leading up to the so-called Little Ice Age of the post-medieval period, but there was not any evidence of climatic change.

There are few other sites where entomological results can usefully be compared with those from Cowick. Cowick did not possess the range and abundance of beetles which feed on decaying organic material shown by urban Anglo-Scandinavian and medieval sites in York: *Aglenus brunneus*, which occurred in vast numbers from the decaying vegetable debris of floor layers at York (Kenward 1975) was not recorded from Cowick. However, the buildings at York were infested with the same wood boring anobiids, *Xestobium rufovillosum* (death-watch beetle), *Anobium punctatum* (woodworm) and *Ptilinus pectinicornis*, which were apparently attacking the timbers of the buildings at Cowick (Buckland 1974, 311; Hall et al. 1983, 185). *X. rufovillosum* was also identified from a waterlogged sample from the bottom of a moat around a manor house at Chalgrove, Oxon, (Robinson, unpublished). Unfortunately, insect remains were poorly preserved in this deposit and it is not possible to make further comparisons with the Cowick fauna.

By the end of the thirteenth century grain beetles were well established in York and

Ptinus fur had been joined by *Tipnus unicolor*, the two synanthropic ptinids identified from Cowick (Hall et al. 1983, 223-4). Interestingly, Hall et al. (op.cit.) note that *T. unicolor* seems to be characteristic of somewhat neglected buildings but not foul conditions.

Comparison between the percentages of terrestial Coleoptera from Cowick (Table 3) and a Roman villa at Barton Court Farm, Oxon, (Robinson 1981, 280-1) helps to emphasize certain points about the environment at Cowick. The "intensity of occupation" as measured by the abundance of the synanthropic and structural timber feeding beetles (Group 9 and 10) was somewhat greater at Cowick than Barton Court. However, there were also very much more signs of woodland at Cowick. One possible interpretation would fit well with the documentary evidence that the moated manor house was on the site of a former royal hunting lodge. It is possible that the moat was surrounded by parkland with old trees. This would explain the presence of the beetle *Teredus cylindricus* and the lack of strong evidence for pastureland.

There are pollen and/or macrofossil results from rather few moats, considering that almost all of these are waterlogged and therefore offer good preservation of organic remains, and also that a number of moats have been excavated over the last several years. The main moat sites with comparable results are the pollen analyses by Jim Innes from a number of Merseyside sites, Bewsey Old Hall, Speke Hall and Bromborough Court Hall, with macrofossil analyses by Philippa Tomlinson (Innes & Tomlinson 1978), and various unpublished reports), the post-medieval Birmingham Moat (Greig 1981a), the twelfth century ditch at Nantwich (Colledge 1980), and the Shackerley moat (Greig 1987). In addition, the results from another castle site, Hen Domen, perhaps a century earlier than the deposits at Cowick, (Greig et al. 1982) are also relevant.

Most of the other moats and ditches show somewhat similar accumulations of woody remains in the form of substantial amounts of tree pollen, seeds, buds and other such macrofossil remains, and of course larger fragments of wood, with oak, ash, willow, elder, hazel and alder generally well represented. Moats obviously act as good places for evidence of overhanging trees to be preserved in some form or other. In some sites like Bewsey, there is a noticeable increase in shrub records (elder, hawthorn, guelder rose and holly) in the upper part of the deposit which may be a sign that the site was abandoned and became overgrown by scrub. The Birmingham site had *Acer campestre* (field maple) and *Ilex* (holly) seeds. This difference could be because the representation of moat-side vegetation varies along the moat, or it might be a regional difference probably related to soil type; field maple is common in hedgerows in the Birmingham area today. In all cases, ash pollen was abundant but macrofossils almost non existent, even though the seeds are very widely distributed. The botanist had not recognised the presence of any ash macrofossils until they were pointed out by Philippa Tomlinson, so part of the problem lay in the recognition of particular fragments (Tomlinson 1985), and part in their general scarcity. The pollen records of *Ligustrum* (privet) and *Buxus* (box) are interesting because these are hedging plants, of which there have been few medieval records, if any, apart from at Bewsey Old Hall, although box leaves have been found at Roman sites. The pit in the bailey of the castle at Hen Domen was not so rich in tree and shrub remains, which is understandable as the means of deposition were apparently different, with no sign of overhanging vegetation.

Wetland vegetation is usually in evidence in results from moats, and as with the trees and shrubs, the list from the other ditches was similar in all cases, with a range of common wetland and aquatic plants, and others which occurred at one site and not another without any apparent explanation. The record of *Ceratophyllum* (hornwort) is slightly uncommon. At Nantwich, however, there were practically no aquatic plants, so the ditch there must have been merely damp rather than waterfilled (or very well dredged!).

Grassland plants are present, in most assemblages of plant remains from archaeological sites, although sometimes there are enough for there to be some substantial evidence of the remains of grass or its products, as at Cowick. In sites of this kind the amount of evidence of a particular vegetation seems to depend upon chance, whether one particular kind of rubbish or other was dumped, or whether natural local vegetation grew and was preserved relatively undisturbed. At Hen Domen there were signs of a substantial amount of grassland, but not at the other sites, where cornfield weeds were mainly found, as at Nantwich.

Crop plant records in such sites depend on chance preservation, and sometimes this brings interesting results; for example, the records of *Juglans* (walnut) from Cowick help show more of the history of this non-native tree. Walnut shells have been found some medieval deposits such as at Shrewsbury (Greig, unpubl.). The pollen grains, which show that the trees were actually growing here, (rather than nuts being imported), have been found at some other sites such as the twelfth century one from Nantwich (Colledge 1980), and from the pollen diagram from the King's Pool at Stafford (College & Greig, unpubl.). There is also substantial medieval historical evidence of walnuts (Greig 1988c).

Food remains such as fig, grape and fennel are probably the result of sewage getting into the moat, also damson, apple and cherry, although these could also have come from rubbish. It is often assumed that moats and ditches, particularly those of castles, were fouled with ordure with the garderobes, or latrines, emptying from the walls into the ditches beneath, and this appears to have been so at Cowick. Figs and grape pips, signs of imported fruit are a sign of sophistication which has already appeared in a number of towns by this date (Greig 1983) but in a rather remote rural site they are somewhat unusual – there was nothing of the kind found at Hen Domen, although this may be just because of the nature of the deposits were different, without the more interesting kind of rubbish. Parasite ova also provide good evidence of faeces, but in the Cowick material only one ovum was found, evidence that suggests presence rather than abundance of faeces, for latrine deposits can have more ova than pollen grains. Ova were plentiful in the Birmingham moat.

Cereal remains are fairly commonly found at all such sites in one form or another, but may not so directly represent remains of food; the remains may be charred or waterlogged grain, bran, chaff or straw remains, or pollen, and many different interpretations can be applied. Those from Cowick (kindly identified by Lisa Moffett) were charred grain and chaff, thus suggestive of the processing of batches of cereals, or the discarding of cereal waste into the household fire where some became charred and later thrown out with other rubbish. There is also the probability that other cereal product such as straw flooring was also present, judging from the presence of so many cornfield weed seeds and evidence for musty plant material from the beetles. This last may not prove so informative about food that was eaten, but it does provide useful clues about field crops, their weeds, and the soil upon which they grew. For example, the land farmed around Cowick seems to have been light and sandy, with little of the heavy clay land which would favour weeds such as *Anthemis cotula* (stinking mayweed), which were rare at Cowick but fairly abundant at the other sites (such as Nantwich). Other common medieval crop plants are shown by the signs of flax and hemp. Hemp or hop pollen was also found at Birmingham in quite large amounts, but not at the other sites.

Although moats and ditches can provide similar information to that obtained from organic deposits in cities like York and Bristol, they have the advantages of better preservation and less disturbance of the deposits, and the rural setting of Cowick also makes its results particularly interesting.

Conclusions

The pollen, plant macrofossil insect and other results complement each other in showing how the deposits in the moat formed and what they contained: a selection of the rubbish and waste that was dumped there. The preserved evidence has a considerable bearing on the occupation of this medieval site as well as the more natural historical evidence about conditions in the moat. There is no sign that the moat was cleaned out other than by water flow, but there is an element of uncertainty about the exact way in which the remains were deposited.

Acknowledgements Many thanks are due to Andrew Jones and Terry O'Connor who provided the bone identifications out of goodwill. Lisa Moffett helped with cereal determination, Philippa Tomlinson with various plant remains, and Sandra Nye identified the mosses.

Miscellaneous environmental materials

Area 2 produced four mussel shells *(Mytilus edulis ?)*, one cockle shell *(Cerastoderma edule)* and over 160 oyster shells *(Ostrea edule)*, however, given the difficulties of artifact recovery, the larger oyster shells stood a far greater chance of discovery than other smaller types. Also recovered from the upper silt deposits of the moat were two larch cones and two hazel nuts, one opened by a mouse, the other by a red squirrel. A heavily fragmented white egg shell was also recovered from the same deposits (Keepax, 1981). Unfortunately, these upper silt deposits cannot be reliably dated.

The discussion of the artifacts and tree-ring dating will appear in the 1990 volume of the Y.A.J.

DISCUSSION

West Cowick has long been recognised as a late-medieval potting centre, and it has been this aspect of the township which has been the focus of archaeological study. Its royal moated site has hitherto received little attention. Yet this report does not claim to represent a full archaeological analysis of the site. The nature of the remains of the buildings and features within the moated area remain a mystery. Instead attention has been focused on the moat itself where the archaeological 'watching brief', carried out under the most unpromising circumstances, has revealed rich waterlogged deposits whose artifacts and environmental remains have provided a unique insight into the history of this site.

The various wood and leather artifacts were not surprising discoveries given the waterlogged nature of the site. Pottery too was expected, though not in the quantities that were recovered. The suggested interpretation of waster sherds from a kiln(s) operating within the moat was quite unexpected, and indicates perhaps the rapidly declining social importance of the 'residence' here by the end of the medieval period.

Undoubtedly the principal interest from this salvage work at West Cowick moat was the environmental samples recovered. As Greig has commented above, surprisingly little environmental work has been undertaken on medieval moated sites. Both pollen and beetle remains show a progression from species associated with clear water, through gradual silting to eventual stagnation. The moat was perhaps kept clean and in good order in the decades following its construction in 1323. A wider variety and greater density of plant life then began to colonise the banks of the moat as human debris, as well as the natural silting processes, contributed to its growing stagnation.

The pollen also gives a valuable insight into the landscape in the vicinity as well as indicating the variety of foodstuffs brought into the moat. The discovery of privet and box grains for example, might have derived from a formal garden within the moat. The occurrence of damson, apple and sour cherry might also suggest the presence of an orchard. Amongst the crop plants were recorded flax and hemp in addition to wheat, rye

and oats, quite the normal medieval assemblage. Both pollen and beetle reports emphasise the proximity of woodland and this would correlate well with the documentary evidence for this being a hunting lodge, surrounded perhaps by parkland and old trees.

Quite probably mature local trees, between 100 and 120 years old, were used to construct the main bridge across the moat. The dendrochronological dating was not precise, but some of the timbers may have been felled before the moat was constructed and suggest that suitable trees were never so sufficiently plentiful that timbers should not have been reused from the existing manorial complex when Edward II's construction work took place.

The watching brief on the moat lasted only a few days; however post-excavation work on the artifacts and environmental samples recovered has, through its very abundance, taken several years to complete. It has, however, illustrated an aspect of the study of medieval moats which remains much neglected and, hopefully, emphasises the potential of similar sites.

Acknowledgements

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The preparation of this report suffered a major setback with the death of Maureen Girling; this report is dedicated to her memory.

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University of Birmingham
September 1988

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EARTHWORKS AT MARTON AND MOXBY PRIORIES

By Donnie A. Mackay and Vivien G. Swan with
appendices by David Andrews and Varian Denham

The sites of the priory of Marton and its sister nunnery at Moxby lie on the River Foss 2.8km apart in the Parish of Marton cum Moxby, respectively approximately 17 and 14km north of York. Both have substantial earthworks adjacent, which were surveyed by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England in 1986[1] as part of its policy of recording nationally important archaeological sites. The full archival descriptions and plans have been deposited in the National Monuments Record where they are available for consultation (N.A.R. SE 56 NE 2 and SE 56 NE 3).[2] This paper comprises a brief summary of the visible remains together with their suggested interpretation, and also incorporates accounts (Appendices I and II) of the results of a watching-brief at Marton, carried out in 1982 by David Andrews of the Central Excavation Unit (then D.o.E., now H.B.M.C./English Heritage) in advance of the construction of a silage clamp.

MARTON

The site of Marton Priory (centred SE 5845 6952) occupies a flat-topped south-projecting spur of corallian rag and oolitic limestone at 51m above O.D. and extends into the boulder clay of the associated valley of the River Foss on the west, and on the east into warp and lacustrine clay in the valley of an un-named tributary.

The priory of St. Mary was founded in the mid-twelfth century as a double monastery of Augustinian canons and nuns, but by 1167 the latter had been moved to Moxby (see below). It was dissolved in 1536. The surviving contemporary documentation is very sparse, being primarily concerned with persistent disciplinary problems, disputes over grazing rights, and emergency measures following the monastery's devastation in a Scottish raid in *c.* 1322 and does not hint at the complexities of the site which the earthworks reveal.[3] The report of a visitation of Marton Priory by the Dean and Chapter of York in 1531, shortly before the Dissolution mentions the infirmary and its garden, one or more mills and that the monks kept sheep and oxen.[4] Only the Minister's Accounts of 1535-6, and Enrollment of Leases of 1536, which record the existence of

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1. Survey carried out by Donnie Mackay and Vivien Swan of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (respectively: Line Building, Haymarket Lane, Newcastle, NE1 7RU and Shelley House, Acomb Road, York, YO2 4HB. We are grateful to our RCHME colleagues Dr. Bridgett Jones (documentary research), Philip Sinton (graphics and assistance with survey), Davina Turner (word-processing), Dr. Ronald Butler (editing), and particularly to Chris Taylor for much stimulating help and advice. Thanks are also due to the present occupants of Abbey Farm, Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson, and the occupant of Moxby Priory Farm for so willingly granting us access to survey, and to the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (York University) for permission to photograph the document in Fig. 4, and for their ready assistance generally.
2. Present address: RCHME, Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London W1X 2JQ.
3. For references prior to 1200 see Burton, E. J. 1977, The Origins and Development of the Religious Orders in Yorkshire c.1069-c.1200. Unpublished D.Phil thesis, Department of History, University of York. See also Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R. N. 1971. *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales,* 166.
4. Purvis, J. S. Notes from the Diocesan Registry at York. ii. A Visitation to Marton Priory in 1531. *Yorkshire Archaeol. J.* XXV.140 (1940-1943), 393-403. The see of York was vacant following Wolsey's death in November 1530, until Lee's appointment in October 1531.

houses, buildings, dovecotes, orchards, gardens, meadows, pasture, fallow and arable closes, woodland, a watermill and five fish-ponds ('stanks'), give some written indication as to what once surrounded the priory buildings.[5] A good impression of the very extensive nature of the lands owned in the immediate vicinity of the Priory may, however, be gained from the Parliamentary Survey of 26 March 1647.[6]

The conventual buildings of the priory occupied the south end of the spur, an area now covered by the present farm. There are no definite remains of medieval structures, although some fragments of sculpture are reset in the present buildings. The premises were already in a bad condition in 1531, when the visitation by the Dean and Chapter recorded that the priory was impoverished and the infirmary in ruins.[7] At the suppression, the buildings were converted into a manor house, but by the 1647 Parliamentary Survey, only one 'baie' and three decayed outhouses of the original structure survived, together with a garden and several garths.[8] Burton, writing in 1758, thought that all the old buildings had already gone and that part of their stone had been reused to build the farmhouse.[9]

The spur itself has been artificially steepened by cutting back the scarps along its east, west and south edges, and is defined on the north by a bank and a broad moat-like ditch up to four metres deep (Fig. 1 (A)). This was probably once water-filled and fed from the stream on the east, at a point where the flow now drops sharply. Its massive character and up-hill position suggests it may have acted as a reservoir for the water supply to the priory.[10] Between this precinct earthwork and the present farm, the spur top is occupied by numerous low banks and shallow ditches, as well as by ridge-and-furrow cultivation of at least two phases, one preceding the low banks, the other over-riding and apparently post-dating the northern boundary bank. These features are impossible to determine in detail, but the more substantial ones may represent the boundaries of the garths mentioned in 1536 as Barkehouse Close, and Bakehouse Close[11] and located and described in 1647 as 'a meadow divided into two Little Barkehouse leys abutting north on Abbey garthes'.[12] Certainly some of the ditches seem to have carried water from the main northern ditch, through cuts in its bank, towards and probably into the conventual buildings. Water from these ditches and from the priory site seems to

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5. Ministers' Accounts of Henry VIII, Account of Ralph Beckwith, Michaelmas 1535-6. (PRO S.C. 6/4493); Enrollment of Leases f.10, 9 September 1536 (PRO E.315/209). Woodland is mentioned in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* VIII, no. 322 (3 March 1535). The possessions of the former monastery, together with those of Moxby and some other small religious houses were granted by Henry VIII to the Archbishop of York in 1542 in exchange for such valuable ancient holdings of his see as the manors of Beverley and Southwell (see note 15).
6. Parliamentary Survey of the Archbishop's Estates. March 26 1647. (Borthwick Inst., York, CC Ab. 8.2, pp.95-126).
7. See note 4.
8. Note 6, p. 96.
9. Burton, J. 1758, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 265. Sculptured stone probably from Marton Abbey was incorporated in the mid sixteenth-century rebuild of Marton village church *(V.C.H. Yorks. N. Riding* 2 (1923), 156; Pevsner, N. 1966. *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire, The North Riding*, 240.
10. The existence of substantial moat- or pond-like features set on high points above monastic establishments, and their probable function as reservoirs for water supply, has hitherto received little discussion in print. At Lavendon Abbey, Bucks. a three-sided water filled enclosure, traditionally considered a 'moat' with leats leading down slope towards conventual buildings seems to have functioned in this way (inf. P. Everson; Brown, A. E. 1987. *Fieldwork for Archaeologists and Local Historians*, 68). The highest and largest of a series of ponds forming the present boundary of Barlings Abbey, Lincs. seems likely to have had a similar role feeding both chains of fishponds and monastic buildings via a number of culverts (*Medieval Earthworks of West Lindsey, Lincs.* RCHME., *forthcoming*). This general phenomenon may well be much more common than has hitherto been realised. We are grateful to Paul Everson for drawing our attention to these parallels following a visit to Marton, and for much helpful discussion.
11. Ministers' Accounts: see note 5.
12. Note 6, p. 97.

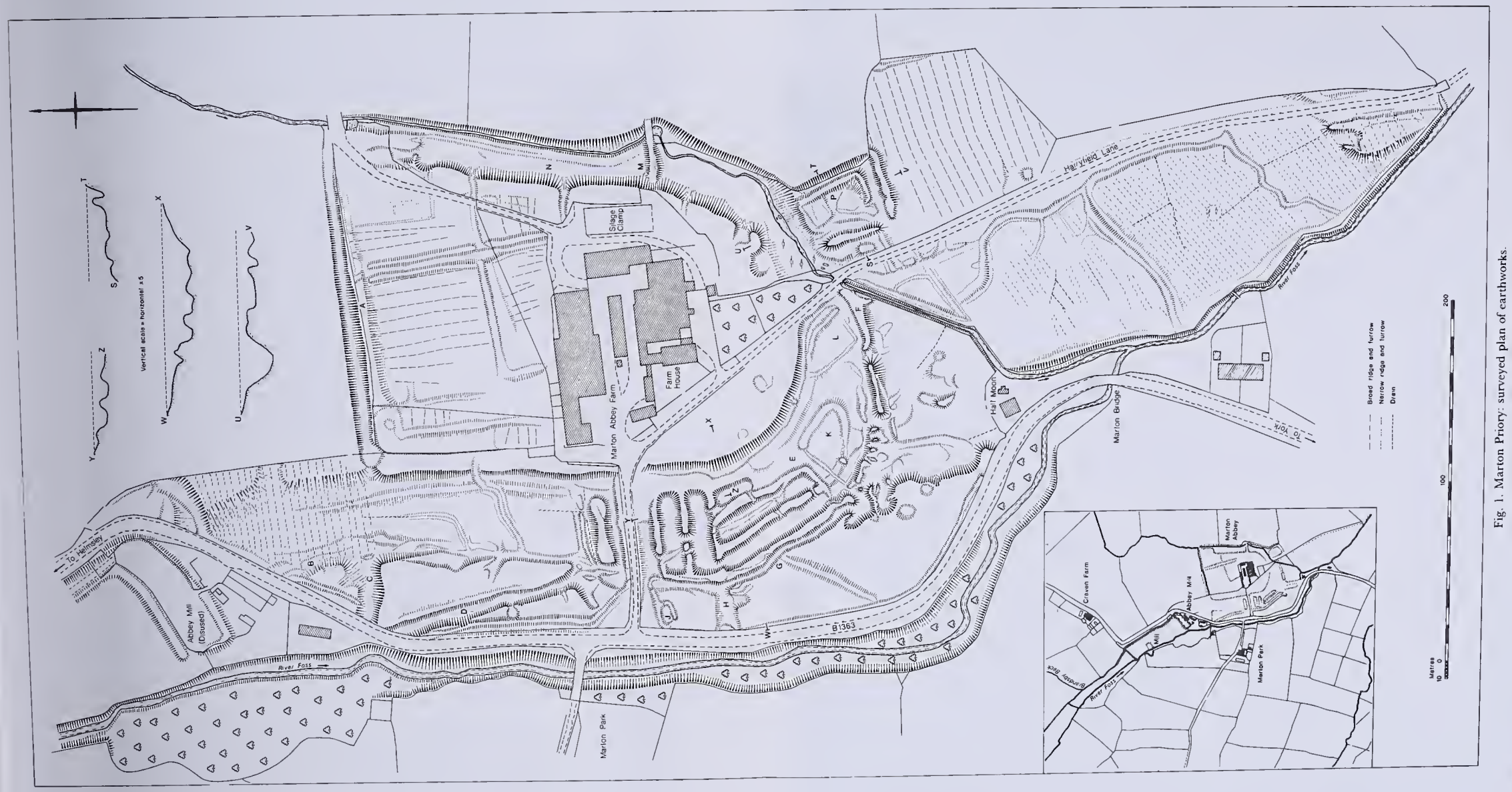


Fig. 1. Marton Priory: surveyed plan of earthworks.

have drained both east and west into the adjacent valleys, along narrow gullies cut into the valley sides mainly along the eastern edge of the spur.

To the west of the spur, the valley of the River Foss is occupied by the remains of fishponds and other features, of at least two main phases. The most remarkable aspect is that the present river is not in the valley bottom, but flows some 100m to the west in a deep artificial cutting. That is, the course of the river has been removed from its natural valley bed at some time, presumably to allow the valley to be used as a fish-farm. It does, however, appear that straightening and other alterations to the original course of the River Foss began as much as 1400m NW of Abbey Farmhouse although precise details are difficult to reconstruct. From SE 57987019 and SE 57967015, approximately 800m NW of Abbey Farmhouse, the river flows in two separate and roughly parallel channels, the western of which, in the valley bottom, is presumably a straightened version of the original Foss stream bed. The eastern, apparently artificial water-course is fed from the North-East by the Brandsby Beck, a stream once substantial enough to have powered a mill. Just over 100m SW of the confluence, a side-channel (presumably operated by a sluice) enabled surplus flow to be diverted south-westwards into the Foss itself. The remainder of the water, however, continued to flow south-eastwards along the now-dry embanked leat feeding a large pond immediately north of the existing Abbey Mill.

Another watermill at SE 58196989, about 180m NW of Abbey Mill, was formerly powered by the Foss itself. It now survives as a stone-strewn plough-eroded platform, approximately 11m by 20m by 0.5m high on the east bank of the river, with a now overgrown and partly filled in former pond cut back into the steep natural scarp of the west bank. The former existence of a mill here tends to be confirmed by the name given to the adjacent meadow in the 1647 Parliamentary Survey – Little Close betwixt the Mills.[13] Its simple position on the Foss itself without elaborate damming may indicate it to be one of the original mills given to the Abbey at its foundation,[14] since the massive earthworks of Abbey Mill appear rather to have been planned as an integral part of the water management scheme for the fish-farm. It is possible that the construction of Abbey Mill, and the diversion to it of water which had formerly augmented the River Foss, rendered the other mill unusable when river levels were exceptionally low, and that at other times its functioning depended on the manipulation of water levels on the mill-pond and the various leats by a skilful and experienced hand. This factor may account for some discrepancy in the number of mills attested at the time of the 1531 visitation[15] and the fact that only one at Marton itself appears to be documented at the dissolution while two may be recorded in 1542.[16]

The fish ponds were fed by both the overflow from Abbey Mill and a number of other sources. The mill water passed along a shallow ditch (B), whose north end is now partly destroyed by later narrow-rig ploughing. Additional water was received by this ditch from the River Foss via two deep channels, cut into the hillside and perhaps of different dates (C and D). Both are now blocked at the north-west ends by the modern road, but they seem to have sprung from a point where the course of the River Foss bends sharply.

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13. Note 6, p. 97.
14. Bertram de Bulmer granted the appurtenances of Marton manor *in aquis et molendinis* (Dugdale, W. 1817-30. *Monasticon Anglicanum* VI, 199). A second original mill may be that, now disused, at SE 5999 6878, 930m SE of Abbey Farmhouse, and also on the River Foss itself.
15. See note 4. Fr. Georgius Burgh is three times stated to control the mill (*habet molendinum*), and twice the mills (*habet molendina; habet firmam de la Milnes*).
16. See note 5. It is impossible to be certain whether or not the second mill documented in the exchange of 1542 lay within the immediate vicinity of Marton Priory (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* XVIII, pt.I, p.128, No. 266 (66)). The Parliamentary Survey of 1647 records only one mill in connection with Marton (see note 6, p. 100).

Water was also passed into the main feeder ditch from the two shallow channels on the east.

Originally all this water entered a very large crescent-shaped pond, with curving sides following the natural contour of the valley (E), and with a massive curving dam (F) of up to 3m high, currently much damaged and broken through in a number of places. The feeder channel continues along the west side of this pond, now as a by-pass leat (G). An earlier, possible boundary, bank to the south-west appears to have been truncated by it. The by-pass channel once received further supplies of water from the River Foss via another deep cut in the valley side (H). Water also flowed into it from a small embanked pond (J), possibly a breeding tank, on the hill-side above. The water from this by-pass leat and from the massive pond itself seems to have discharged into what is now an area of amorphous earthworks, including what may be later quarrying into the valley side. Perhaps originally the water passed through it via a now shallow channel to re-join the River Foss near or just up-stream from Marton Bridge.

The interior of the large pond (E) is occupied by a number of features including two low embanked enclosures (K and L), whose function and relationship to the pond is unclear; one (K) may pre-date it. Of greater importance is the fact that the north and west part of the pond is occupied by four and probably five smaller, and certainly later, ponds as well as a small breeding tank. The former consist of two long NW-SE ponds with two shorter E-W ponds on their north side with the breeding tank (Z) set in the angle between them. It is likely that a fifth pond lay to the north again, but its site is now largely occupied by the modern causewayed approach to the farm (Y).

The valley to the east of Abbey Farm still has its stream within it. This stream was formerly dammed by an earthen causeway (M) to create a large rectangular pond (N) occupying the northern half of the valley. This causeway may have served both as a dam and as an entrance causeway into the priory. It has been heightened with stone rubble in relatively recent times and altered by the insertion of a brick culvert.

Further south along the valley and set high on its south side, but near a point where there may have been a ford or slight causeway across the stream linking it to the spur, is a rectangular ditched enclosure (P) with external banks on at least two sides, situated on ground sloping westwards. The east ditch may have once been water-filled, and possibly also part at least of the south side, both having been fed from the east by a now dry brook. There may once have been a west ditch, but its line is now largely filled in, as the area has been used as an access point for the crossing of the stream. In the north-east corner is a building platform with indications of stone rubble foundations. The rest of the interior is occupied by a small sunken courtyard with a later entrance to the south-west. Further slight earthworks to the west of Harryfield Lane may have been associated with this enclosure. Its date and function are uncertain, but it appears to overlie ridge-and-furrow ploughing which continues to the south.

To the west of Harryfield Lane in the valley bottom, the land is divided into three irregular ditched enclosures, all containing narrow rig. This latter overlies an irregular mound in the extreme south corner. There may have been an access point to the monastic precinct on the southern edge of the spur. Harryfield Lane forms a direct continuation of the main road from the now shrunken medieval village of Marton, held by the priory from an early date,[17] which appears to head straight for the monastery.

The exact chronology and interpretation of the whole earthwork complex is impossible without excavation, but a tentative sequence of the main features may be suggested. The priory buildings lay around and under the present farm, with an area of

17. See British Library Cotton Manuscript Ch. XI.42. for the grant made by the third Peter de Mauley, Lord of Mulgrave in the mid-thirteenth century.

perhaps gardens or closes to the north, bounded by the moated ditch which also provided its main source of water. One entrance to the priory lay to the east, across a dam which also formed a fish-pond on its north side, access may also have been gained from the south. The west valley was originally occupied by a single massive fish-pond, constructed after the diversion of the River Foss and fed by leats from both the Foss and Marton Abbey watermill to the north. At a later date this large pond was abandoned and five smaller ponds and a breeding tank were inserted into it. It may well be that these five ponds are those ('stanks') recorded in 1535.[18] If this is so, then perhaps by then the east pond had also been abandoned. The only clear post-monastic earthwork remains are the extensive areas of narrow-rig cultivation which presumably date from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

The site is of more than usual interest both in showing extensive and extremely complex monastic engineering works, particularly that involving the substantial diversion of the River Foss, and in indicating that large fish-ponds were subsequently replaced by smaller ones. This latter feature is important, for it suggests a major change in fish-farming methods which might have taken place elsewhere, but has not been recognised hitherto.[19]

APPENDIX I

A WATCHING BRIEF AT MARTON PRIORY, NORTH YORKSHIRE

by David Andrews

A proposal to build a silage clamp within the scheduled area at Marton Abbey Farm prompted an investigation by the DOE's Central Excavation Unit in 1982.[20]

The silage clamp was to occupy an area 15 by 38m on the east side of the farmyard, between a barn and the large rectangular fish-pond (Fig. 1). The foundations of the clamp were only to be 14 inches deep, and a depth restriction of 2 feet was placed on the archaeological work. This limited the effectiveness of the operation as a serious investigation of the area.

Extending over most of the site there was a yellow-brown clay which was probably formed largely of redeposited natural, upcast from the adjacent moat or pond. Cut into and overlying this layer were several features and layers, a minority of which could have been medieval. These comprised two small pits, two layers containing burnt clay, an east-west ditch, and an east-west feature consisting of up to three courses of rounded stones laid in a trench about 850mm wide and 600-700mm deep. To the west, this was butt-ended; to the east, it continued beyond the limit of excavation. This could have been a foundation, but was more probably a form of land drain. A scatter of building debris (sandstone fragments, ceramic roof tile, some of which was glazed, and sandstone roof tile) was found across the site, together with medieval pottery (Appendix II, Fig. 2). There was nothing, however, to suggest that this area had ever been occupied by either the claustral buildings or the outbuildings typical of a monastic precinct. It seems too close to the pond ever to have been built up and tends to support RCHME's conclusion

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18. See footnote 5, Ministers' Accounts of Henry VIII.
19. This discussion should be considered in conjunction with other local and national work on fishponds, presented in McDonnell, J. 1981. *Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire: 1066-1300.* University of York, Borthwick Inst. Hist. Res. Pap. No. 60, and Aston, M. (ed.) 1988. *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England.* B.A.R. Brit. Ser. 182.
20. I should like to thank David Hosking, Cameron Moffett and Gillian Stroud who undertook the excavation and survey; also Smiths Gore, the Church Commissioners' agents, and Mr. Atkinson, the farmer, for their help and co-operation; and to Jean Le Patourel for observations on the pottery.

that the priory buildings are probably to be sought in the area of the existing farmyard.[21] The north, west and south sides of the present farmhouse, however, are over one metre thick with a chamfered weathering course on the south-west corner suggesting that this building may incorporate medieval walls as appears to be the case at the present Moxby Hall Farm (op. cit.).

APPENDIX II

THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY AND OTHER FINDS FROM THE WATCHING BRIEF by Varian Denham

In the investigations at Marton Priory 4.5kg of pottery (133 sherds) were recovered. The majority of the pottery is of medieval date, but its association in almost every context with small quantities of late and post-medieval pottery and tile would strongly suggest that it is residual. Only two small pits produced medieval material alone and this comprises seven small and rather worn sherds. With the exception of one partly reconstructable jug (Fig. 2, no. 4) most of the ceramics were badly fragmented and abraded and vessels were on the whole represented by single sherds. Since the material has clearly been disturbed from unknown and unexcavated contexts, its study can do no more than confirm the presence of medieval activity and describe a very small sample of some of the types of ceramics which were in use in the vicinity. Most of the pottery is probably of thirteenth-century date.

Only 20 sherds of pottery derive from sooted cooking-vessels (Fig. 2, nos. 1 and 2) and these are similar in both fabric and form to Staxton Ware (Le Patourel 1979: 83-6), although a few are noticeably grittier and a more local source is likely. Most sherds recovered are from glazed jugs and a variety of fabrics is represented. The most abundant fabric (64 sherds) resembles material from a kiln at Thirlby (pers. comm. Jean Le Patourel). It is oxidised on the external surface to a characteristic pink, however, and could well have been produced in any of the villages near to the Priory, such as Crayke (McCarthy and Brooks 1988: 230-32). The only example of decoration is a line and pellet design (Fig. 2, no. 5) which is common on York-type fabrics (Holdsworth 1978: 12-13). A few sherds, probably from a single vessel, in a rather coarse Brandsby-Type fabric (Brooks 1987: 153-4) were found (Fig. 2, no. 3), but the rim form is more reminiscent of Thirlby jugs (McCarthy and Brooks 1988: fig. 129, no. 663). Nine sherds in a hard, fine-grained, white fabric, and a further four sherds with a clear yellow or copper-flecked light green lead glaze (e.g. Fig. 2, no. 5) have closest parallels with some of the earlier glazed white wares found in York (Brooks 1987: 151-2). It would seem likely that both the unglazed cooking-pots and the glazed jugs were produced in the area of the Howardian Hills. Other pottery recovered comprises a fragment of Scarborough Ware (Farmer 1979), and a rim and handle (Fig. 2, no. 6) from a jug of probable early Humber Ware (Le Patourel 1965: 113-4). Five sherds of late and post-medieval pottery, from reduced green-glazed jugs and iron-glazed earthenwares, were also recovered.

A total of 20 fragments of ceramic roof tiles was found, but most pieces were in late or post-medieval red-firing fabrics, and form diagnostic sherds derived from pantiles. Two large pieces of ridge tile in a hard, white-firing, quartz-tempered fabric, with a partial copper and lead glaze on the upper surface, together with some smaller fragments of undiagnostic form would appear to be of medieval date. Fragments from a minimum of five stone roof tiles with single pegholes were recovered.

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21. A detailed report on this excavation can be found in the archive, which together with the finds is deposited in the Yorkshire Museum.

Small quantities of animal bone and iron nails were also found, and these are catalogued by context, with the pottery and tile, in archive.

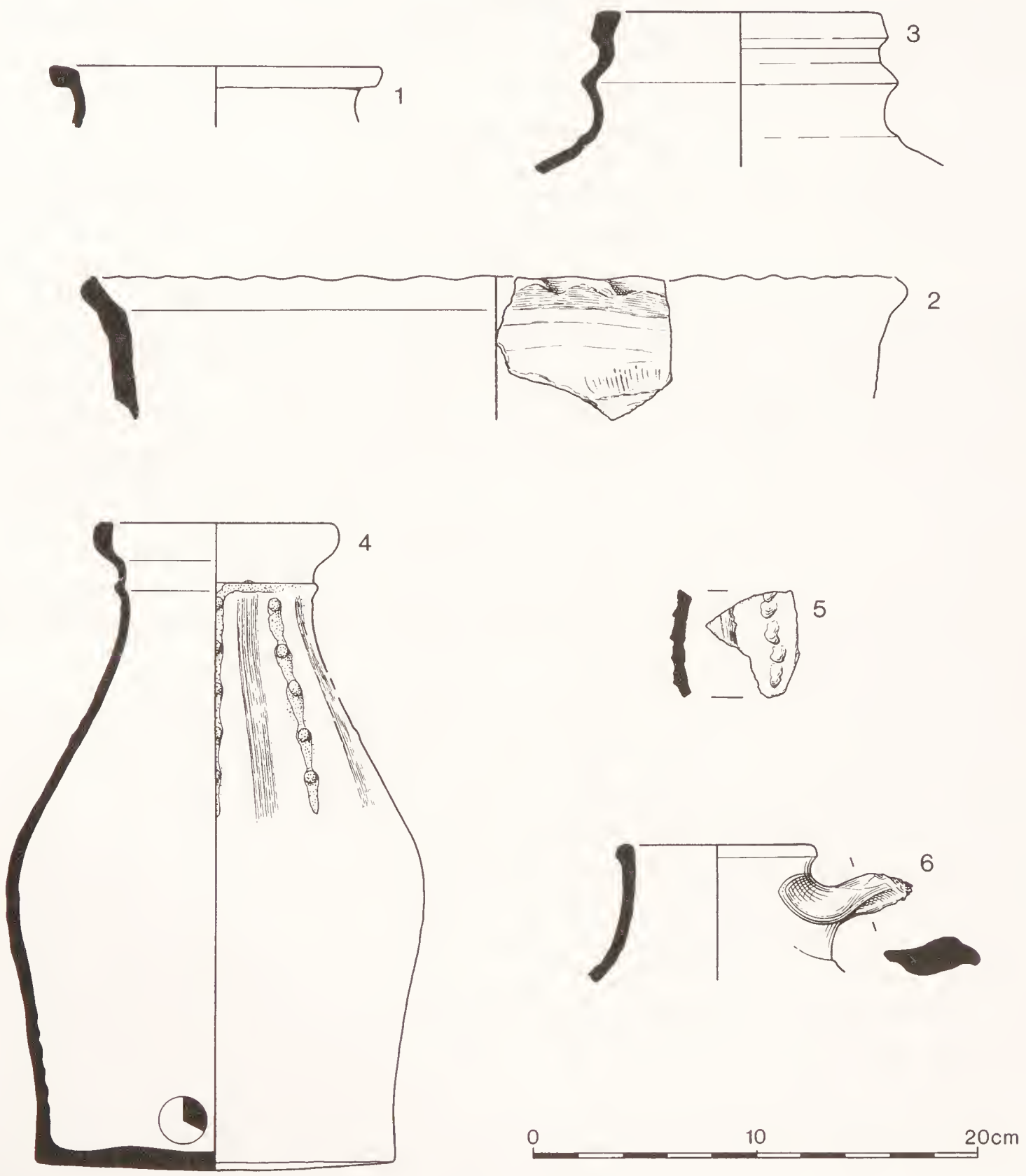


Fig. 2. Marton Priory: Medieval pottery

Catalogue of Illustrated Pottery

1. Wheelthrown jar with sooting on rim and exterior body, in a Staxton-type fabric.
2. Large wheelthrown bowl or storage-jar with regular thumb-impressed decoration on rim, in a Staxton-type fabric.
3. Wheelthrown jug with exterior green glaze and traces of rilling on the neck, in a Brandsby-type fabric.
4. Wheelthrown jug with external partial pale green glaze and decoration of vertical iron slip trails, in unknown fabric. (Pie chart indicates proportion of vessel which was recovered).
5. Sherd from the neck of a wheelthrown jug with a green glaze and decoration of applied clay scales, in a fabric with parallels closest to early glazed wares found in York.
6. Wheelthrown jug with a clear lead glaze in early Humber Ware.

Biliography to Appendix II

Brooks, C. M. 1987. *Medieval and Later Pottery from Aldwark and Other Sites,* Archaeology of York 16/3.
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Le Patourel, H. E. J. 1965. 'Appendix B. The Pottery', in C. V. Bellamy, 'Pontefract Priory excavations,' *Publ. Thoresby Soc.*, 49, 106-119.
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MOXBY

The earthworks relating to Moxby Priory (centred at SE 5973 6688), lie at approximately 28m above OD, on the west bank of the River Foss, occupying a low-lying alluvial terrace of lacustrine clay, with sand and gravel immediately to the south. They are bounded on the east and south-east by a bend in the river, and on the north-east by an un-named now-dry brook (K) which once fed the Foss from the west.

The priory of St. John the Apostle was established at Moxby (or Molesby as it was then called) by nuns from Marton Priory, perhaps in *c.* 1158[22] and certainly before 1167 – the date when their right to land previously granted to them was confirmed by Henry II.[23] Although Marton was an Augustinian house, the Moxby nuns were recorded as belonging to the order of St. Benedict in 1310 and 1322, but appear to have become Augustinian by 1326.[24] Documentary sources suggest that Moxby was always a very small establishement, with probably never more than about 10 nuns.[25] It was suppressed in 1536.[26]

The west boundary of the parish of Marton-cum-Moxby follows the River Foss southwards as far as the nunnery, and then immediately north of it, at its confluence with the un-named beck, turns sharply westwards, at first following the beck (K), and then taking in a near-rectangular tract of land called Moxby Moor (an area measuring roughly 1950m by 1100m), before turning back on itself northwards, leaving a narrow neck of land linking the area with the rest of the parish. This territory, projecting isthmus-like from the otherwise relatively compact parish of Marton-cum-Moxby, and lying at the conjunction of four other parishes (Farlington, Huby, Stillington, and Sutton-on-the-Forest), may thus be the original land allocated to Moxby priory, and could be an instance of earlier parish boundaries having been altered in the late twelfth century to take in the territory assigned to the nunnery.

As with Marton Priory, the surviving contemporary documentation is sparse, and generally impossible to link to the existing physical remains. It relates mainly to grants of revenue from other churches,[27] persistent disciplinary problems,[28] and the depredations of the great Scottish raid of 1322 which were not promptly remedied. In 1327/8, the nuns were ordered to repair the ruinous bakehouse, brewhouse, and malthouse and to keep corn in a granary and not in barns.[29] A few details of the

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22. Burton, J. E. 1979. *The Yorkshire Nunneries in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries.* University of York, Borthwick Inst. Hist. Res. Pap. No. 56, 7 and 37. The reign of Stephen was apparently a peak time for the foundation of nunneries in the county.
23. Dugdale, W. 1817-30. *Monasticon Anglicanum* IV, 566; Pipe Roll Henry II, m.5.
24. Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 262, 282; Abp Greenfield's Reg., III *(Surtees Soc.*, CLI (1936), no. 1149).
25. Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 282: see also note 31.
26. Ministers' Accounts of Henry VIII. Account of Robert Hill 1535-6. (PRO, SC. 6/4500); see also note 31.
27. For example, the revenues from the chapel of Whenby in 1283-4 (Register of William of Wickwane, 1279-1285. *Surtees Soc.* CXIV (1907), 290-91). This grant was made to mitigate Moxby's extreme poverty. Like most Yorkshire nunneries and in contrast to the monasteries, Moxby Priory was far from wealthy (Burton 1979, 11, 16, 45, Appendix II).
28. Register of Abp. William de Melton, 1317-1340. (*Cant. and York Soc.* 70, 71, II, (1978) 12-14, 86, 172, 220, and 263).
29. Register of Abp. William de Melton, 1317-1340 (*Cant. and York Soc.* 70, 71, II, (1978) 128-30, 314).

convent's appurtenances may also be gleaned from the Ministers' Account of 1535-6, at the time of the suppression. These mention barns, houses, dovecots, orchards, gardens, closes, pastures, meadow, and 'a watermill with a house'.[30]

In 1586 there was a tithe dispute involving former priory land situated close to the convent.[31] Among the witnesses were sons of men-servants 'borne and broughte upp at the nunnrie' (presumably living just outside the precinct: see note 34) and three former nuns, two now married or widowed, but in their teens in 1535/6. The latter recalled helping with the nuns' haymaking, and also listed the complement at the time of dissolution – seven or eight nuns including the prioress, various male and female servants and seculars including one Robert Leedell, whose father had kept Moxby priory's cattle, and Robert Sherwin 'myller at the monasterie'.

Following its dissolution, the priory itself was converted into a family mansion, Moxby Hall. The 1647 Parliamentary Survey of the Archbishop's Estate described the house as 'old built', one storie highe, part timber and part stone, couled with slate much decaied', with 'a hall, parlour, kitching and Buttrie, . . . other necessarie lowe rooms and six upper chambers, . . . a dovecoate with . . . pigeons, a Barne, stable, kilne, . . . diverse other outhouses, together with a faire orchard and diverse outyeards containing alltogether 6 acres, . . . one undershott water Corne mill in one side of the backeyeards adjoineinge to the south, the building in reasonable good repaire but for the Clowe and stones somethin in decaies'.[32] A good impression of the plan of Moxby Hall and its environs, including the mill and all the field names of the estate, can be obtained from the map of 1754,[33] although how much of the very substantial house represented the original conventual buildings is impossible to determine (Fig. 4).

The hall apparently continued in use until the mid 1850s, when it was almost entirely demolished to build the present cottage and farm buildings and become superseded by the house now called Moxby Priory, 250m to the south-west.[34] Whellan, writing in 1857, recorded that nothing remained 'except foundations and some part of the stone walls on which new buildings of brick [had] been erected'.[35] A low wall of dressed stone blocks forming the base of the west end of the present cow-shed has recently been exposed and most of the brickwork of the cottage stands on a rendered plinth. It would thus appear that the extant structures still retain the orientation and incorporate fragments of the layout of the conventual buildings. The present garden too, coincides with an orchard on the 1754 survey.

The extant earthworks (Fig. 3), now confined to a roughly L-shaped area of pasture, south and east of the farm, clearly represent only part of the outer precinct of a nucleus overlain by the present farm, and may thus, be interpreted either in terms of peripheral conventual activities, or more likely as later modifications when the main buildings became a private residence. Until the 1950s, the remains were more extensive, having been recorded from the air in the fields south-west and west of the site and also to the

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30. As note 26.
31. Purvis, J. S. 1949. Select XVI Century Causes in Tithe from York Diocesan Registry. *Yorks. Archaeol. Soc. Record Ser.* CXIV, ii (1947), 147-151.
32. Borthwick Inst., York, Doc. no. CC Ab. 8.2: 31 March 1647, Priorie of Molesbie, pp. 82-86.
33. Map of . . . Moxby . . . part of the estate of Richard Thompson . . . mapped by Joseph Simpson AD 1754 (Borthwick Inst. Doc. no. CC Ab11.49).
34. This was erected on the edge of Cowl Green, a pasture field from which, in 1754, tracks ran to Moxby Hall and the Moor. The 1647 survey records 'cole greene where an old ruinous cottage stands'. Such a structure could have been an agricultural outbuilding of the priory or perhaps even part of a small settlement just outside its precinct where servants and farm hands such as Robert Leedell's father, the priory's cattle keeper, might have lived (see note 31).
35. Whellan, T. and Co., 1857. *History and Topography of the City of York and the North Riding of Yorkshire* II (Beverley), 620).

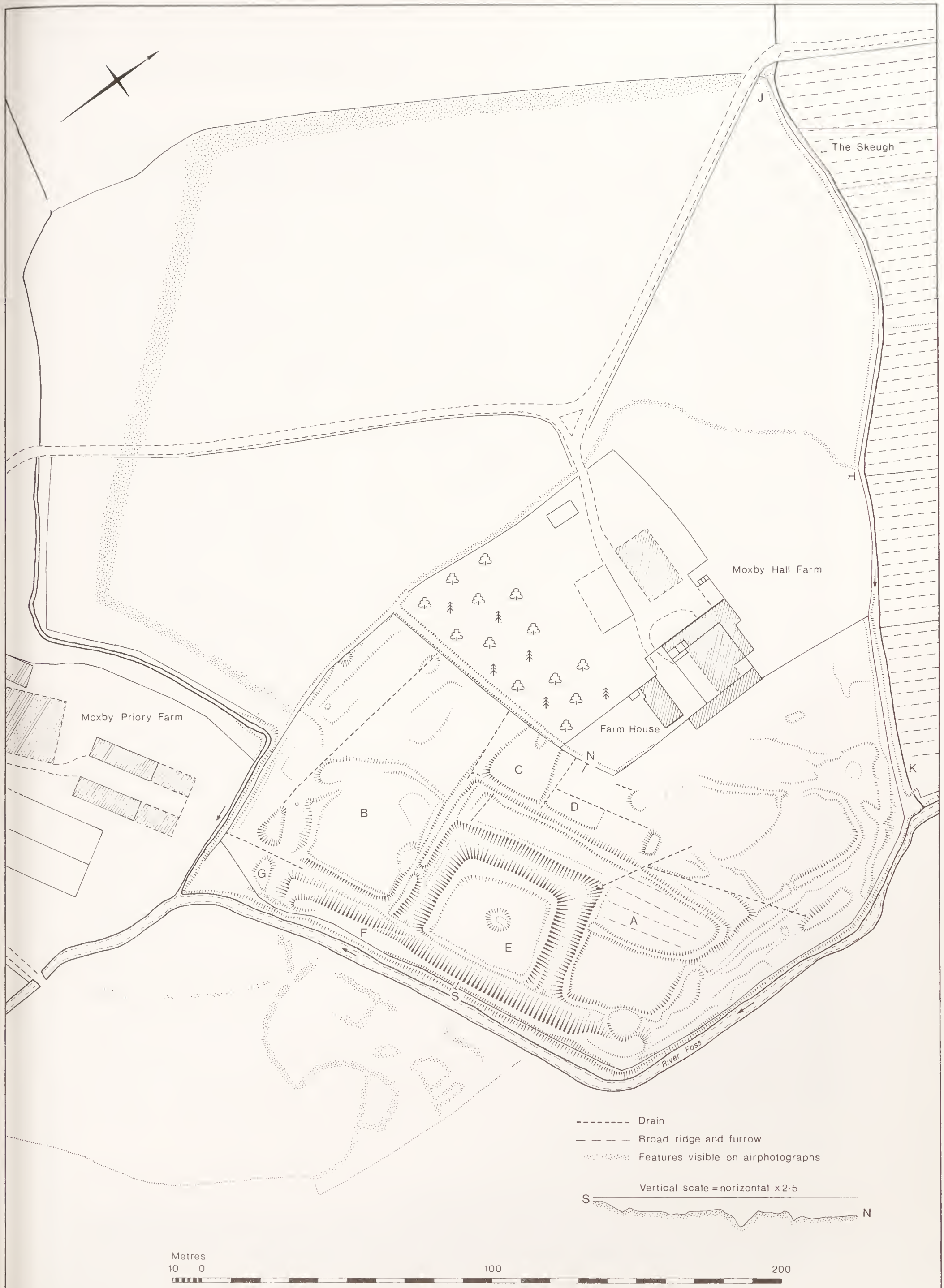


Fig. 3. Moxby: surveyed plan of earthworks.

south-east on the opposite bank of the river.[36] At the last point there was a roughly triangular-shaped area of very mutilated earthworks abutting the river, including a bank and external ditch with a possible entrance gap in the south-east side. This area had reverted to woodland by the mid 1700s.[37] All the remains have now been totally obliterated by agricultural activities (Fig. 3).

The extant earthworks currently comprise three major components, a series of irregular compounds, a moated enclosure and one side of a mill dam. The irregular compounds, each enclosed by a low bank or scarp, occur over most parts of the site. They are complex, sometimes overlapping, and, having undergone considerable modification, are impossible to interpret in detail and may be largely post-medieval. One (B), is over-ridden by a bank and ditch aligned on the moat; its south-west side, coincident with a continuous boundary marked on the 1754 survey (Fig. 4), has subsequently been breached to make a funnel-like entrance. Another enclosure (A) post-dates ridge-and-furrow ploughing, but partially over-lies the north-eastern external bank of the moat. Two features (C) and (D), immediately adjacent to the modern farmyard resemble platforms for buildings.

On the south-east side of the site, immediately adjacent to the River Foss, is a near rectangular moated enclosure (E), ditched on three sides, with the fourth, the river side, apparently obliterated by a later bank. This flat-bottomed moat shows evidence of recutting, and has an internal bank on all four sides. Its external bank, discernible on three sides, has been altered by the addition of another external parallel ditch on its south-west flank. Evidence for any internal structure is lacking except for a shallow central depression, the significance of which is unclear. For a number of reasons, the moat seems unlikely to be of medieval date. It is not a primary feature on the site; its very regular sharply cut character, combined with an absence of internal buildings and the existence of a number of banks and ditches close to it and aligned on it, but of no obvious function, may suggest that the moat and most immediately adjacent earthworks represent post-medieval garden features.

On the west bank of the River Foss, apparently truncating the south-east side of the moated enclosure, a massive straight embankment (F) now survives approximately 77m long, and up to 18m wide, rises 1.6m above the surrounding ground (Fig. 3, profile N-S). Although its exact relationship to the moat has been cut by a drainage ditch, it appears to post-date it. A similar parallel embankment on the opposite bank of the Foss was bull-dozed in about the 1960s. These massive banks clearly functioned as a dam, creating a bottle-neck and retaining a massive build-up of water in order to power a water mill. The course of the river which here runs in a deep, probably artificially-cut channel, was evidently straightened both on the line of the dam and in its immediate approaches, where probable former scouring channels are distinguishable.The dam was not depicted on Simpson's 1754 survey (Fig. 4). Indeed an orchard and its building appear to occupy the place on the map where the south-west part of the dam might be expected. Either Simpson's depiction of detail was unsatisfactory (and this does not appear to have been the case with other aspects of the survey), or more likely, the dam was not in existence in 1754. The feature is clearly marked 'mill-dam' on the 1851 1st edition of the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map, although the mill itself was then no longer functional. There seems no reason why the water-mill belonging to Moxby nunnery could not have functioned on the site using an undammed River Foss; such was certainly the case with Marton Priory's early mill (see above).

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36. Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography, Print Nos. MZ 74-5; RV 67-70; RY 8-10; ANH 62-4; AQQ 78-9; AWG 23-4; BTB 082-4; BWB 062-5.
37. See note 33: Fig. 4. Stukeley noted on 28 June 1740 'We visited Mrs. Prince [resident of Moxby Hall] at Molxby nunnery, by Easingwold, a most melancholy retirement by a woodside, at the head of the Foss river' (Stukeley's Diaries and Letters III. *Surtees Soc.* LXXX.III (1885), 380.

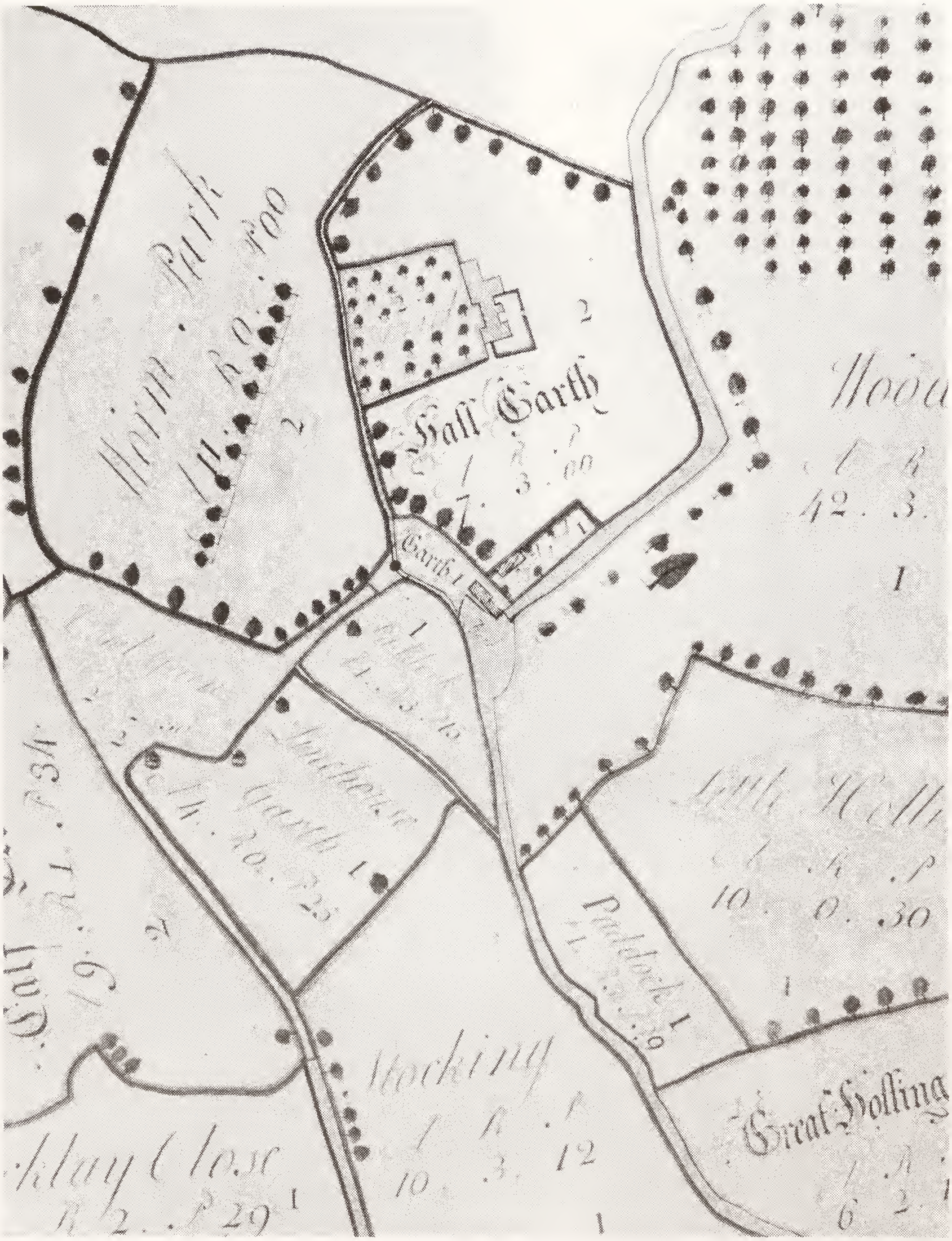


Fig. 4. Moxby Hall: extract from Joseph Simpson's 1754 estate map.

The presumed site of Moxby Mill, as marked on the 1957 edition of the Ordnance Survey 6 inch map lies on the northern fringe of a triangular piece of ground fenced off in the south corner of the field, and now obscured by dumping and dense undergrowth.

It is however clear from the 1754 map and another survey of 1855[38] that this small area coincides with part of a former mill pond while the platform (G) immediately to the east (SE 5969 6678) is all that remains of the site of the mill. This must be the mill documented as belonging to Moxby priory at the dissolution[39] or its later replacement. Although its mechanism was in decay in 1647, the building and its attached house were still in position at the time of the 1754 survey, but were gone when the 1855 estate map was compiled and their position was then marked by a foot-bridge across the Foss.

In order to cope with the variable rates of flow generated by the River Foss and its tributary beck, a system of by-pass channels seems to have been in operation. On the north-east fringe of the earthworks, the confluence of the beck (K) from the north-west and the River Foss may have been controlled by a sluice at SE 5977 6700, a point blocked off at the time of the survey. North-west of the farmhouse and 120m north-west of this junction, a leat, now ploughed but in existence until the mid 1970s, and formerly comprising a linear ditch between two banks, emanated southwards from beck (K) at a point (H) also probably controlled by a sluice (SE 5965 6703). Skirting the west edge of the present farm garden and the south-west fringe of the site, the channel apparently rejoined the Foss immediately south of the mill, though more recent drainage work has destroyed the junction. This inner leat seems to have still functioned as such at the time of the 1754 survey and possibly even in 1851 when the Ordnance Survey map was compiled. Air photographs also indicate the former existence of another open conduit commencing approximately 140m west-north-west of the previous and drawing water southwards from the beck at SE 5953 6706, a point (J) where the southern edge of the beck itself appears to have been embanked, its course probably having been straightened. This outer by-pass channel also consisted of a ditch between two substantial banks. After changing direction twice, it joined the inner overflow gully just 90m north-west of its confluence with the River Foss (Fig. 3). The course of the outer water-duct may have coincided with the precinct boundary of the priory. It had largely vanished by the time of the 1754 survey, although its north-west section appears to have been incorporated then in the western boundary of the field known as Worm Park (Fig. 4). At times of peak flow, the beck was presumably sealed off from the River Foss and its water diverted into the outer precinct ditch and the inner stream, which until recently skirted Moxby Hall Farm.

38. Plan of Moxby Priory Estate by Thos. Holliday 1855 (Borthwick Inst., York. Doc. no. CC Ab. 11.50).
39. See note 26: the convent's miller was mentioned in the 1586 tithe dispute (see note 31).

THE THWAITES FAMILY AND TWO EFFIGIES AT LUND, EAST RIDING

By Pauline Sheppard Routh

The effigies

In the parish church of All Saints, Lund, East Riding (North Humberside), have survived two mutilated effigies and a fragment of tomb-chest, all carved in alabaster.[1] The latter is the very worn top half of a niche with an ogee canopy cusped on the underside, and decorated with crockets and finial such as are found on the two later Gascoigne, and the later Redman monuments at Harewood, and others elsewhere. In the head of the canopy is carved a flower, possibly a rose. This little detail also appears at Yatton in Somerset; Llandegai, North Wales; Burghill, Hereford; and Thornhill in the West Riding (W. Yorks.). The customary string course runs along the top of the panel behind the finial, and in the niche is a forward-facing angel holding a shield (Fig. 1). The wings have moulded edges, and there is a little drapery detail in the sleeves, where they embrace the shield. The lower half of the figure, and the pedestal on which it stood are missing. This fragment closely resembles panels on monuments as widely dispersed as Netherbury, Dorset; Millom (Old church), Cumb.; and the previously cited Burghill, Hereford. The dates of these three are respectively c.1460, 1494 and 1470, so the Lund example can fairly confidently be placed in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The two effigies now lie on the floor, one on either side of the sanctuary, but it is reasonable to conclude that they originally lay side by side on the tomb-chest. Certainly in the earlier part of the nineteenth century they were together:

'On the north side of the chancel are two mutilated effigies'.[2] On the north side now is the effigy of a woman, and though in a poor state of preservation, it retains a fair amount of detail (Fig. 2). The gown appears to be neither the sideless surcoat popular throughout the fifteenth century, nor the houppelande, with its wide sleeves and voluminous pleats, but a simple kirtle, the bodice tight fitting from a plain neckline to just above the hips, at which point the skirt becomes very full, and falls over the feet, obscuring them in the folds. Just above the hipline is worn a narrow girdle from which hangs a looped rosary. The arms unfortunately have disappeared, but the remains of the hands rest on the breast holding, presumably, a heart (Fig. 3). The mantle falls across the shoulders, and its cords loop across the breast and fall to knee-level, ending in a tassel. Under the head are two cushions, but there are no longer any recognisable indications of angels. The right side of the face is badly mutilated; it looks almost as though deliberately hacked away. The headdress is what is sometimes known as the truncated hennin, the crown rather like an inverted plant pot, and having a wide band of material round the front or forehead, falling away in lappets of material to either shoulder. On the top of the crown is incised a saltire cross with a central boss.

As with the details of the tomb-chest fragment, it is possible by making comparisons

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1. There is another 'effigy' at Lund worth remark. On the exterior of the tower, above the west window and resting on a projecting pedestal, has been inserted the upper half of the carved stone figure of a priest. His hands, issuing from the draped chasuble, are together in prayer. There can be little doubt that he was originally horizontal rather than vertical, as behind his head is a lozenge-shaped cushion on a rectangular one. To date I have found no account of the origin of this effigy.
2. Thomas Allen, *The new and complete history of the county of York*. Vol.III (1829), p. 433.



Fig. 1. Lund: tomb-chest fragment.

with effigies elsewhere, to draw conclusions as to coincidence of dates and styles. The headdress described has for instance, parallels at South Cowton, N. Riding; Millom, Cumb.; North Aston, Oxon.; Bothal, Northumb.; Stanford on Teme, Worcs.; Radbourne, Derbys. and Beaumaris, Anglesey, all of which have been dated to the last decade of the fifteenth century, or the first of the sixteenth. In general style and outline, although the apparel is not strictly similar, the effigy bears a striking resemblance to the Radcliffe lady at Clitheroe, who is of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The inter-relation of such similarities in effigies and tomb-chests previously cited, points to a common origin, and that origin probably one of the Midland alabaster workshops.

It is not possible to include the second effigy at Lund in this stylistic assessment, as what remains of it is in too poor a condition to judge (Fig. 4). There is enough however, to be able to refute earlier speculation that it represents another woman.[3] It is in fact a male civilian, its head mutilated in the same way as the female's, though there is still

3. J. E. Morris, *The East Riding of Yorkshire,* Methuen's Little Guides. (1906), p. 251.

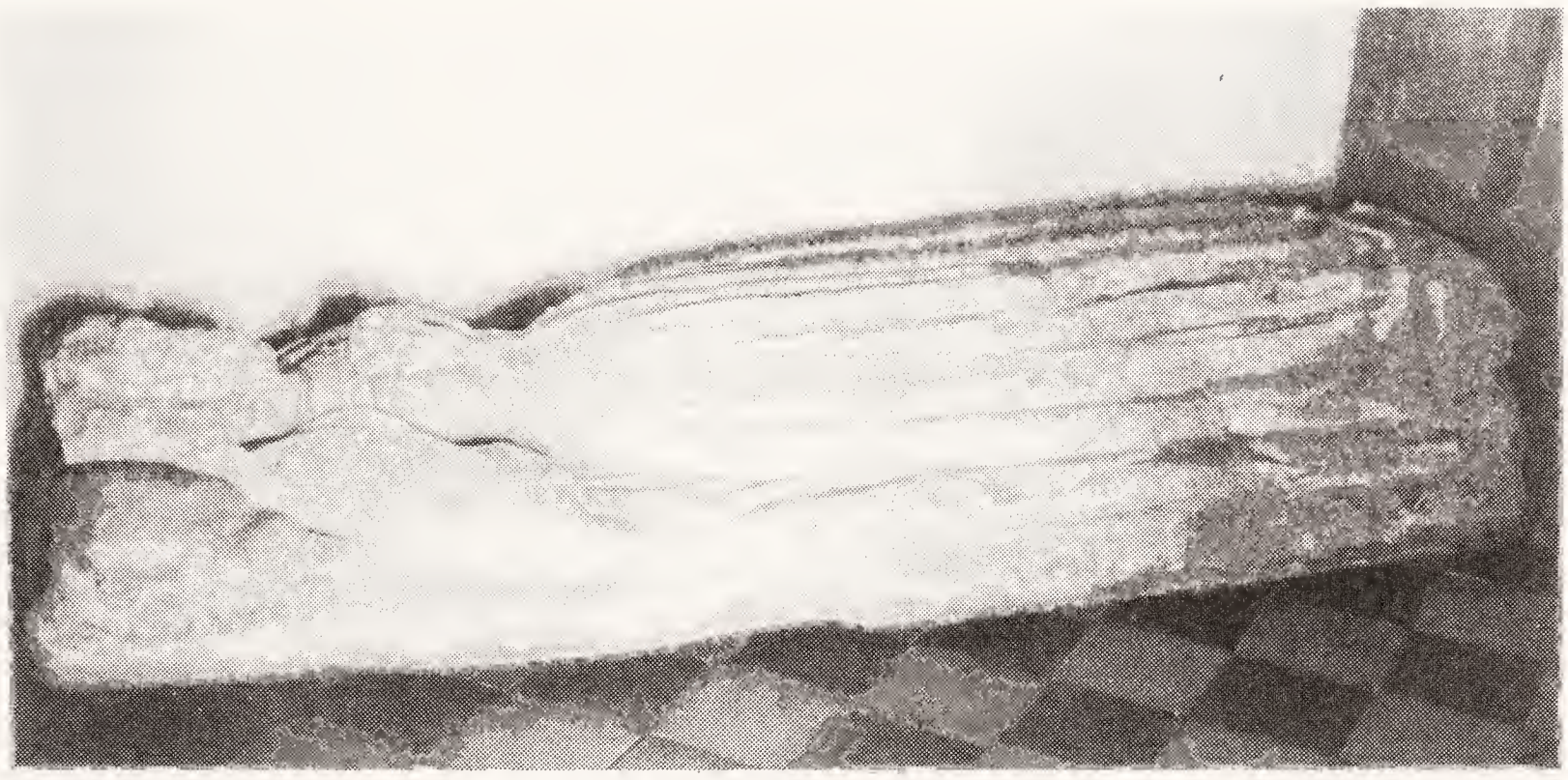


Fig. 2. Lund: female effigy.



Fig. 3. Lund: upper half of female effigy.

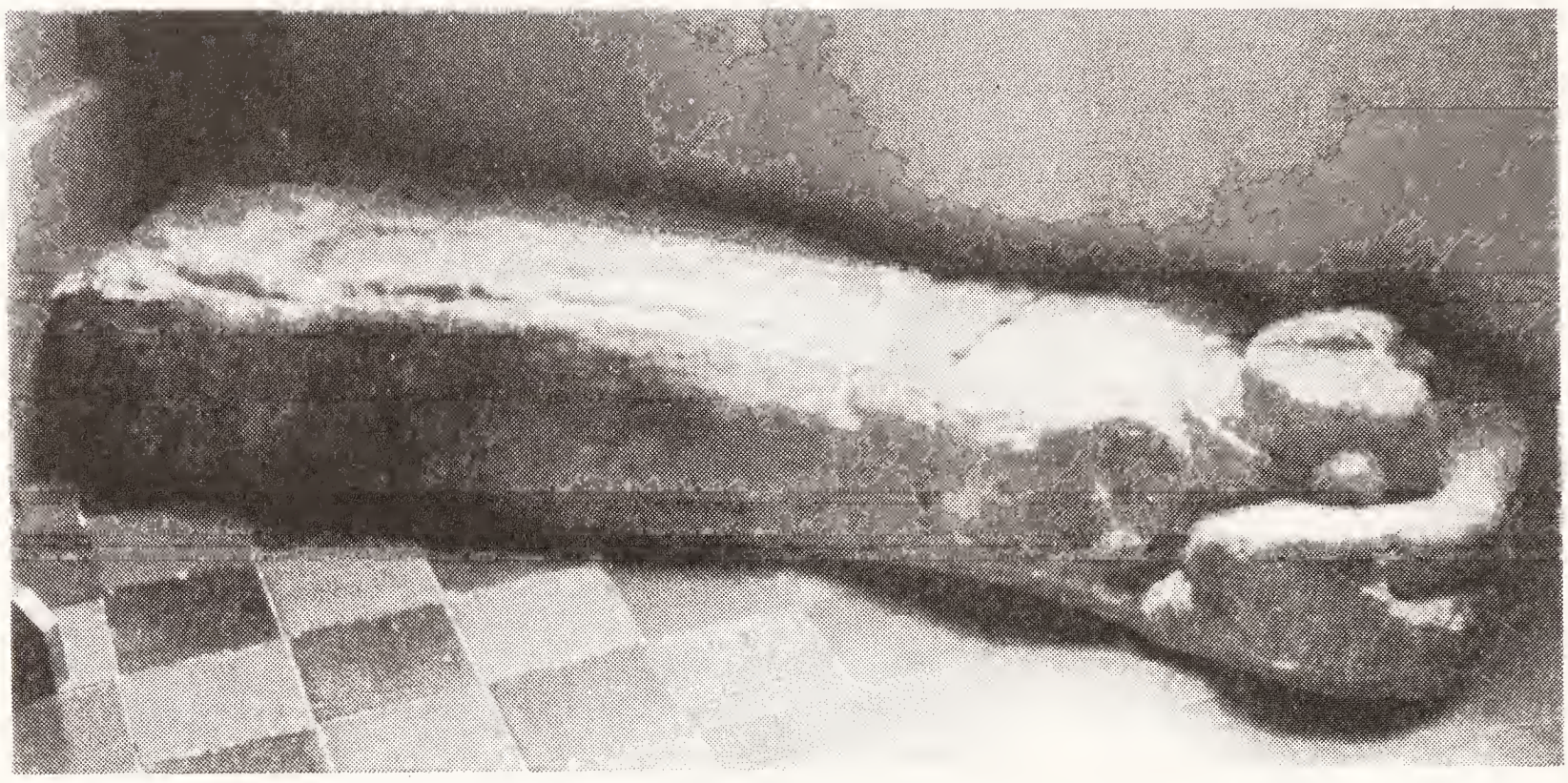


Fig. 4. Lund: male effigy.



Fig. 5. Lund: head of male effigy.

evidence of a short hair-cut (Fig. 5). The arms and feet are completely gone, so we have no indication of type of sleeve or shoe, but the main garment appears to be the long houppelande with much fulness below the belted waist, and a stand-up collar around the throat[4]. The effigy has been completely broken in two, and is crudely cemented together

4. The houppelande with minor variations, was worn by either sex. It is well-shewn on the civilian male at Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts., and on ladies at Over Peover, Cheshire; North Leigh, Oxon, and on three at Harewood.

just above the waist. The visual evidence afforded by the Lund effigies in conjunction with that of contemporary documentation enables a near-certain appropriation to be made.

The Thwaites family of Lund

On 21 May 1500 Edmund Thwaites of Lund made his will, which was proved 3 July of the same year[5]. This long and interesting document was written in English as had become common by this date. After the customary devout preliminaries regarding his hopes for his soul, Edmund Thwaites makes disposition of his earthly remains:

'... I bequeth my body to be berid in y^{e} chirch of Lond, in a chapell of our Lady which I have newly beldid, of y^{e} north syde of y^{e} said chirch. I bequeth to xiij beidmen xiij whyt gowns, to hold xiij torches y^{e} day of my beryall. I bequeth vij pond wex to be in v serges to burn over me y^{e} day of my sepultur and my viij day. To every prest y^{at} shalbe at my *Dirige* and *Mass* day of my berial vj d. To evry parish clerk in surples iij d. To every person y^{t} at y^{t} day wil take almous, to help my saul w^{t} y^{r} prayer, j d. To y^{e} high altar of y^{e} chirch of Lond, for myn offerynges and tithez forgettyn xx s...'

He goes on to leave sums of money to many religious houses in the area, including Kirkham Priory and all the Houses of Friars in York, Beverley and Hull, and then follow the personal bequests that yield much genealogical information. He mentions 'sich goodes as late was Henry my sone's', indicating that his elder son Henry, had predeceased him. His wife 'Jhenet' was also already dead. To his second son, Edmund, he leaves plate to the value of £100, and 'in money coyned' 100 marks; also a feather bed, a bolster, two coverlets, two blankets, a pair of sheets, and one bed covering of 'flowrez' and another of 'ymagery'. Young Edmund also figures in a mysterious bequest of £40 'to dispose secretly in sich werkes as I shewyd to hym before William Babthorp'[6] – possibly some charitable dispositions he did not wish the world to know of, or perhaps the Thwaites family cupboard housed a skeleton for which provision was to be made. Henry, son of his son Henry, is his 'cosyn and heire', and has sisters each of whom gets 40 marks towards her marriage. Detailed instructions as to future prayers and observances in the 'chapell aforsaid' are given to Sir John Noblee and 'oder prestes after him', and how they are to be funded. Every one of his servants, men, women and boys, both on the land and in the house, receives a small legacy. His shepherd is particularly mentioned, and William Richardson, his bedesman, gets five shillings a year for six years, and 'resonable sustynaunce of mete and drynk to pray for me'. More bequests to religious foundations follow, and even the prisoners in York Castle get two shillings every quarter for seven years.

The will ends with the disposition of his lands; in the first instance to Henry, his grandson and his heirs male; in default, to his second son Edmund, and *his* heirs male; in default, to the heirs male of his daughters, Elizabeth (married to John Langdale), Eleanor (married to John St.Quintin of Harpham) and Margaret (married to Sir John Mallory of Studley); in default, to the heirs male of John, Elyn and Lore Thwaites, whose identities are not immediately apparent. Possibly they were cousins. Son Edmund, John and Eleanor St.Quintin, and John Noblee the priest, are ordained his executors, and the previously mentioned William Babthorp and John Langdale, his witnesses.

The will exudes devoutness of an order high even for those devout times. This is corroborated by an entry in Archbishop Rotherham's register for 12 December 1482,

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5. *Testamenta Eboracensia* iv. Surtees Society 53 (1869), p. 175.
6. A member of a well-known Yorkshire family.

when Edmund and Joan his wife were granted permission for an oratory for four years.[7] The will also has in its composition all the precision and attention to detail of a man well-versed in law. In 1482 'Edmund Thwaites squyer' was named as one of the executors of the will of Sir John Constable of Halsham, who was about to 'goo in viage into Scotland', presumably in support of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, against that country's borders. Sir John must have returned safely, for probate was not administered until 1489.[8] Edmund also figured in the will of Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland who, significantly, made his testamentary dispositions on 27 July 1485:[9] 'a graunte of an anuytie of four powndes to Edmond Thwaitis esquier, term of his lyve, for his goode service and counseill in y^{e} lawe to me don and here-after to be don.' He was also named as executor,[10] and on 5 June 1489 was commissioned with several others, including William Babthorp, by Archbishop Rotherham, to gather together the goods and chattels of the late Earl, after his 'judicial' murder at Topcliffe, and deposit money, gold and silver, plate, jewels, 'clothes' of arras etc. in St. Mary's Abbey, York.[11]

In 1473 'Edmund Thawaites *et Joh uxor ejus'*, in common with many and more illustrious personages of the time, became members of the Guild of Corpus Christi at York along with Henry Thwaites, Edmund's father.[12] Public records yield the information that Edmund fulfilled many of the duties customary with the gentlemen of his time. In August 1483 and February 1484 he was commissioned to assess certain subsidies and appoint collectors in Yorkshire.[13] He was a Commissioner of Array for the East Riding in May and December of 1484[14], and in November 1495.[15] He was named in the Commission of Peace of the East Riding from 1483 right through to 1498[16].

According to the Inquisition Post Mortem, Edmund held his manor and lands at Lund of the Earl of Northumberland by Knight service. He also held lands of, among others, the Earl of Derby, the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Ralph Ryther, Edward Redman, Lord Scrope, Lord Clifford, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Dean and Chapter of York, and the Prior of Kirkham[17]. Some land seems to have come to him through Joan his wife, who pre-deceased him, and this was held of the King 'as of his manor of Pykering in the county of York, parcel of his duchy of Lancaster, in socage, viz. by service of fealty and 3s. rent yearly at Martlemas and Whitsuntide...' It is not established of which family Joan was a member.

Some little time before Edmund's death, according to the aforementioned Inquisition, which rehearses all the terms thereof, indentures were drawn up between him and one, Robert Constable, serjeant at law, making provision for the marriage of 'Henry Thwaytes his cousin and heir apparent' to Agnes, daughter of the said Robert, or, in the event of her death, to Joan, his other daughter. A complicated legal disposition of land relating to the marriage follows, in which reference is also made to Ellen, 'late the wife of Henry Thwaytes his son.' Some elucidation of the genealogical background to this document is called for. Edmund's elder son Henry, as mentioned previously, had died in the lifetime of his father. His wife Ellen would appear to be the daughter of Sir John Constable of Halsham (the father of the Sir John for whom Edmund was executor) and

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7. Reg. Rotherham 28a.; *Test.Ebor.* iv. *op.cit.* 176n.
8. *Test.Ebor.* iii. S.S.45 (1865), p. 280.
9. The battle of Bosworth, at which, in the event, the Earl opted not to fight, took place on 22 August 1485.
10. *Test.Ebor.* iii. *op.cit.* p. 310.
11. Reg. Rotherham 336b.; *ibid.* p. 310n.
12. *Register of the Corpus Christi Guild, York.* Surtees Soc. 57 (1871), p. 90.
13. *Cal.Pat.Rolls 1476-1485,* pp. 394, 425.
14. *Ibid.* pp. 339, 492.
15. *Op.cit.* 1494-1509, p. 52.
16. *Op.cit.* 1476-1485, p. 579; 1485-1494, p. 506; 1495-1498, p. 666.
17. *Cal.Inquisitions Post Mortem. Henry VII.* II. p. 365.

Ellen, daughter of Sir William Ingleby of Ripley and his wife Joan Stapleton, as the will of the last-named in 1478 makes bequests to Anne and Isabella Constable and Ellen Thwaites, daughters of Ellen Constable her daughter, late the wife of Sir John Constable of Halsham.[18]

Henry Thwaites, 'cousin and heir apparent' of Edmund, was the son of Henry and Ellen, i.e. Edmund's grandson, and at the time of his inheritance (1500), was said to be fourteen years and more. Robert Constable was the younger brother of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough, and Agnes and Joan were his daughters by Beatrix Hatcliffe, who seems to have been a lady of determined character. In 1483 she had married, as his second wife, the aging Ralph, Lord Greystock,[19] who died in 1487 and was buried in Kirkham Priory.[20] In 1490 Beatrix married Robert Constable of North Cliffe,[21] and having borne several children, was widowed for the second time in 1501, whereupon she took the vow of chastity,[22] a not unusual medieval measure, not necessarily religious in intent, adopted by some widows with fortunes or lands to protect against predatory males. She herself died in 1505, and willed to be buried in the church at Sancton, East Riding. To Sir Marmaduke her brother-in-law, she gave the 'custodie and rewll of my son Thwaitts and Agnes his wife',[23] the children still being minors five years or more after the arrangement for their marriage had been made. It would seem that Dame Beatrix had been at some pains, even questionable ones, to secure the alliance, because on 9 May 1502 there was a grant to 'Beatrice Lady Greystock, widow of Robert Constable serjeant at law, of the lands of Edmund Thwaites and Joan his wife, both deceased during the minority of Henry (their kinsman and heir) and of the marriage of the said heir, though already married; and pardon to the said Beatrice for the abduction of the said Henry, and the marrying him to Agnes, daughter of the said Robert and Beatrice.'[24] At the same time Henry received a pardon for marrying Agnes without a licence. We are not told what part young Henry's mother Ellen, played in the affair. Perhaps she was the reason the 'abduction' was considered necessary.

Henry died young in 1520, having achieved knighthood, and leaving by Agnes two daughters, the elder of whom, Frances, eventually inherited Lund. Agnes must have died very early, as Henry married again, this time to Anne, the daughter of Sir John Savile of Thornhill and his second wife, Elizabeth Paston,[25] whose wooden effigies with that of Sir John's first wife, Alice Vernon, lie three to a bed in Thornhill Church. By Anne, Henry had two sons and three daughters, William, Henry, Isabel, Katherine and Elizabeth, all mentioned in their grandmother Savile's will as receiving spoons and 'pairs of beads' in 1542, at which time Lady Anne Thwaites, one of her mother's executors, received a goblet.[26] Sir Henry in his will, strangely made no mention of his 'second' family apart from his wife Anne, who was left his gold chain. To his daughter Frances he bequeathed a 'device' of gold with five diamonds and 'dyverse perles' in it, and to Kateryne, a 'litill tablett of golde w^{t} relickes' and his gold crucifix. His sister Ellen Killinghall received twenty nobles. The legal care of his daughters until they reached full age, was left in the hands of the feoffees of his land. He wished to be buried in the chancel at Lund with Agnes his first wife, and left £4 13*s* 4*d* for masses to be sung and said every

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18. *Test.Ebor.* iii. *op.cit.* p. 243.
19. *Ibid.* p. 347.
20. *Op.cit.* iv. p. 20.
21. *Op.cit.* iii. p. 355.
22. *Ibid.* p. 363.
23. *Op.cit.* iv. p. 238.
24. *Cal.Pat.Rolls 1494-1509.* p. 256.
25. R. Glover, *Visitation of Yorkshire 1584/5.* ed. Foster (1875), p. 341.
26. *Yorks. Arch. Journal.* 25. 1918. p. 11; Reg.Test. XI.591.

day for seven years in the chantry.[27]

The will of Sir Henry's great-grandfather, Henry Thwaites of Lund, was made in Latin on 31 March 1478, and probate was granted on 9 September 1480, to Edmund his son.[28] The writ of *diem clausit extremum* was issued to the escheators of Yorkshire on 15 October 1480.[29] He also willed to be buried in Lund Church, and Edmund was his only personal legatee.[30] During his lifetime Henry senior was named as serving in Commissions of Peace for the East Riding throughout the 1470s.[31] In 1461 he had the receivership of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who had been killed at Towton,[32] and of Sir Thomas Roos of Hamelake (Helmsley) and Sir William Tailboys.[33] In 1462 he was appointed one of the justices of survey and custody of rivers in Yorkshire.[34] Bread cast upon the waters did not return entirely void, for on 6 July 1471 he was granted for life 'a tun of red wine of Gascony yearly at All Saints in the port of Kyngeston on Hull from the King's prises of wines there'.[35] In 1477 he was commissioned, along with Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Northumberland, and various knights and gentlemen of the county, to enquire into the report that 'divers Scots, women as well as men, wander about various parts of the county of York and especially the West Riding, and have burnt divers houses and buildings, and to arrest and imprison the offenders and their instigators.'[36]

Obviously the lives of the males of the Thwaites family followed the customary pattern of their times, fulfilling their responsibilities to their sovereigns, lands, dependents and church, and at their demise being laid to rest in the church of their ancestors.

The fact that Edmund Thwaites had had built a chapel on the north side of the church, which at his death housed his mortal remains, and the evidence of the surviving monuments, make it more than probable that the effigies represent Edmund and Joan his wife. These must once have lain in the founder's chapel on a tomb-chest splendid with angels and coats-of-arms.

The Chantry

A chantry to celebrate masses for the soul of the founder could be founded at an altar already in existence in a church, or in a custom-built chapel adjoining or adjacent. The chantry priest was paid from the proceeds of an endowment of land by the founder, and this granting of lands 'in mortmain' required a licence from the Crown. But with the advent of the sixteenth century the days of the chantries, like much else, were numbered.

The dissolution of chantries as well as monasteries, was being considered as early as 1529, when an act was passed forbidding anyone to receive payment for singing masses for the souls of the dead, though this does not seem to have been strictly enforced. In 1545 however, the King (Henry VIII) was empowered for the term of his life to dispose of all colleges, chapels, chantries and guilds, the sale of whose property was to help pay for the French and Scottish wars. Commissioners to survey such foundations were appointed in 1546, and those for Yorkshire were headed by Robert Holgate, Archbishop

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27. *Test Ebor.* v.S.S.79 (1884), p. 115.
28. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York. Prob.Reg.5.f175.
29. *Cal. Fine Rolls. 1471-1485.* p. 197.
30. The testamentary burials of Henry senior, Edmund, and Henry junior are recorded by James Torre, Churches diocesan in the Archdeaconry of the East Riding. p. 1317. (York Minster Library).
31. *Cal.Pat.Rolls 1467-1477.* p. 537; *1476-1485,* p. 578.
32. *Op.cit. 1461-1467,* p. 26.
33. *Cal.Fine Rolls 1461-1471,* p. 37.
34. *Cal.Pat.Rolls 1461-1467,* p. 206.
35. *Op.cit. 1467-1477.* p. 264.
36. *Op.cit. 1479-1485.* p. 50.

of York. The commission was to record the names of the founder and incumbent of each chantry, the purpose of its foundation, its 'necessity' and its possessions.

The King died soon after this first survey, and the Act being in force only during his lifetime, dissolution was not implemented. Another Act however, was passed by Edward VI's first Parliament for the same purpose, though the reason this time was doctrinal rather than mercenary, and it was suggested that the proceeds would be better used for grammar schools, the universities, or providing for the needy. Another survey was ordered, and the reconstituted Yorkshire Commission now had thirteen members. In 1548 the projected bestowal of the chantry wealth for educational purposes was diverted to supporting warlike expeditions to Scotland and Ireland. Whatever the ends, the means were the same – the chantry possessions were swept into the melting-pot.

The commissioners' certificates at the chantry survey for the greater part of the East Riding do not appear to have survived, but abstracts were made from the full certificates in 1548 for the purpose of assessing clergy pensions, and those surviving of these are in the Public Record Office.[37] Fortunately one of these 'Brief certificates' lists the East Riding's chantries and other chapels, their value, and the name and age of each incumbent. Lund figures in this list, and we learn that the value of the chantry of St. Mary at Lund was £5 7*s* 11*d*, the incumbent being one, Henry Rowton, aged 40, whose pension was assessed at £5. These are but the bare bones of the survey – we are not told of the 'goodes, ornamentes and plate pertenyng to the said chauntery as apperyth by inventorye', nor of its purpose and 'necessity', but it does establish that a chantry dedicated to St. Mary existed. It seems, however, that this was not founded by Edmund Thwaites. No grant of a licence to him is recorded, but Sir William de Thweng on 10 October 1340 'was granted a licence for the alienation in mortmain... of a toft, two bovates of land and 20s. of rent in Lund, to a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the parish church of Lund for the souls of the said William and his ancestors.'[38] It thus seems that Edmund Thwaites had his chapel built in the name of the Thweng chantry – St. Mary, as given in the Brief certificate, or Our Lady, as Edmund himself describes it in his will.

The dissolution of the chantries was not of course the end of the Crown's spoliation of the religious foundations. In 1547 a commission to survey parochial church goods was addressed to every bishop, allegedly to prevent embezzlement of such goods, as there had been a good deal of such surreptitious activity as a result of rumours rife after the dissolution of the lesser monasteries in 1536, that church property would suffer a similar fate. Much of this 'alienation' had been for the benefit of the church or parish. Other commissions to the Sheriff and Justices of the Peace of each county followed in 1549, and they were enjoined, after the taking of the inventories, to warn priest and parishioners against attempting to dispose of any of their church vestments, plate, ornaments, jewels or bells at their peril. In 1552 these inventories were called in, new ones made and the two compared. These last inventories for the East Riding were made in August, and the certificates returned, in November of 1552. In 1553 all ready money, plate and jewels were collected and sent to London, but it had to be ensured that every church had adequate ecclesiastical linen left for their use, and a chalice for the administration of Holy Communion. Any surplus linen was given to the poor, and copes, vestments, altar cloths and ornaments were sold.

It is interesting to note that at this time, Henry Rowton, erstwhile incumbent of the Lund chantry, was 'curat' of the church at 'Skitbie' (Skidby).[39] At Lund 'Herry Graye'

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37. P.R.O. Chantry Certificates 301/119; *see* C. J. Kitching, 'The chantries of the East Riding of Yorkshire at the Dissolution in 1548', *Y.A.J.* 44 (1972), pp. 178-194.
38. *Cal.Pat.Rolls 1340-1343.* p. 59; also recorded by Torre *op.cit.* in n.30, p. 1316.
39. *The Inventories of church goods for the counties of York, Durham and Northumberland.* S.S.97 (1896), p. 60.

was the vicar[40] and the inventory reads as follows: 'one challes of silver, ungilt, one vestment of whyt damaske, one vestment of read satten in Burges (a special satin made in Bruges), one vestment of read vorsted (worsted), ij tunacles of read vorsted, one cope of read vorsted, one cope of blewe vorsted, one cope of greine sattene Burgesse, iij old table clothes, vij towells, one chyst, ij belles in the stepill, one sirples, ij candelstekes of latene, one crewett, ij albes, one revyn (cracked) bell sold by the townshipe for thre poundes vj s. viij d., fortie shillinges... bestowid to the setinge furthe of sholderes (soldiers), and the rest bestowed in repairinge of the churche.'

A fragmentary memorandum by the commissioners dated 24 November 1552 indicates that additionally a 'pair of organs', one bell and chalice had been sold by the parishioners for £10 6*s* 8*d* for the 'necessaries and repairinge of their churche, being in great decaye, as they have deposed'.[41]

The Lund chantry would of course have been stripped of anything of value at the dissolution. Edmund Thwaites' tomb itself may not have survived intact the excess of iconoclastic zeal triggered off by Edward VI's statute against 'superstitious' books and images in 1550. This called for the defacement or destruction of 'any images of stone, timber, alabaster or earth, graven, carved or painted', though a mitigating clause exempted any imagery not 'commonly reputed or taken for a saint'. It is not clear which category angels were in, but certainly the angels' heads on many medieval monuments have suffered such literal defacement. An example is that at Burghill in Herefordshire, one of those bearing a close resemblance to the Lund fragment. Every angel on the tomb-chest there has had the face hacked off, as have a Virgin and Child and a kneeling donor group. As Edmund Thwaites had dedicated his chapel to Our Lady, it is more than likely that her image would appear on his tomb also.

In the face of such ecclesiological upheavals, it is surprising, not that so many 'supertitious' images were destroyed, but that so many managed to survive. The saints at Burton Agnes, Harewood, Tong, Minster Lovel, Ross on Wye, are cases in point.

However, it may be that the Reformation was responsible for no more than a token defacement of the Thwaites monument. The almost total destruction of the tomb-chest, and the extensive damage to the effigies point not so much to judicial iconoclasm, as to an ongoing disregard for anything standing in the way of subsequent alterations in the church. We may perhaps be grateful that enough remains to ensure that Edmund Thwaites and his pious intentions are not entirely forgotten.

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40. *Ibid.* p. 70.
41. *Ibid.* p. 84.

THE TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP SCROPE IN YORK MINSTER

By T. W. French

The Chapel of St. Stephen occupies the easternmost two bays in the north aisle of the presbytery in York Minster. There was an altar to St. Stephen in the earlier Romanesque cathedral,[1] and this was transferred to its present position when the eastern arm was rebuilt in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Originally the chapel seems to have occupied only the easternmost bay,[2] but at some later date has been extended to take in the second bay as well. It was soon taken over by the great baronial family of Scrope of Masham, and by 1451 John Lord Scrope was writing in his will of 'the chapel of St Stephen commonly called Scrop Chapell'.[3] Many rearrangements have taken place in the chapel over the centuries, but there still remains on the south side, under the great arch opening into the eastern bay of the lady chapel, a stone table-tomb known as the tomb of Archbishop Richard Scrope. The archbishop was executed (duly punished or murdered according to one's viewpoint) on the direct orders of Henry IV on 8th June 1405 in a cornfield at Clementhorpe. There was a windmill close by, probably just about where Southlands Methodist Church now stands at the top of the hill.[4] Hence the painting of the archbishop holding a windmill in a Book of Hours dated to before 1445.[5] After the execution his body was taken to the Minster for burial. The stone table-tomb was restored in 1972 and embellished (Fig. 1). The formerly plain shields along the sides were renewed with various carved and painted Scrope and other shields of arms, and a new brass inscription-strip fixed around its rim. There had once been such a strip, but no record survives as to its original wording. It now has (awkwardly reading clockwise from the south side) 'Archbishop RICHARD SCROPE son of HENRY first Lord SCROPE of MASHAM / Born circa 1350 / Bishop of LICHFIELD 1386-1398 + / Beheaded at York 8th June 1405'.

The initial angry reaction to the archbishop's death seems to have been a personal one centred mainly on the local populace and, to a lesser extent, some members of the Scrope family. In a surprising failure to read the situation correctly, the king allowed the archbishop's body to be buried in the Minster. There is no evidence before this time to connect the Scropes with St. Stephen's Chapel, although it is perhaps not without significance that the head of the family since 1392 had been named Stephen.[6] Almost at once, however, the archbishop's burial-place became a focus for an unofficial cult. This cult and its eventual transformation into a strong political weapon for anti-Lancastrian propaganda have been studied in detail in an excellent article by J. W. McKenna in a scholarly American journal – an invaluable study of fifteenth-century politico-religious

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1. *SS (Surtees Soc. Publications)* XXXV (1859), p. 301.
2. James Torre, 'York Minster', YML L i (7).
3. *SS* XXX (1855), p. 185.
4. A. Raine, *Mediaeval York* (1955), p. 319.
5. The Bolton Hours. *FYMAR (Friends of York Minster Annual Report)* (1944), p. 15 and (1945), pp. 27-28. The painting is illustrated in Lucy Beckett and Angelo Hornak, *York Minster* (1981), p. 58.
6. Stephen's father, Henry, 1st Lord le Scrope of Masham, is said by the Dictionary of National Biography to have been buried in York Minster.

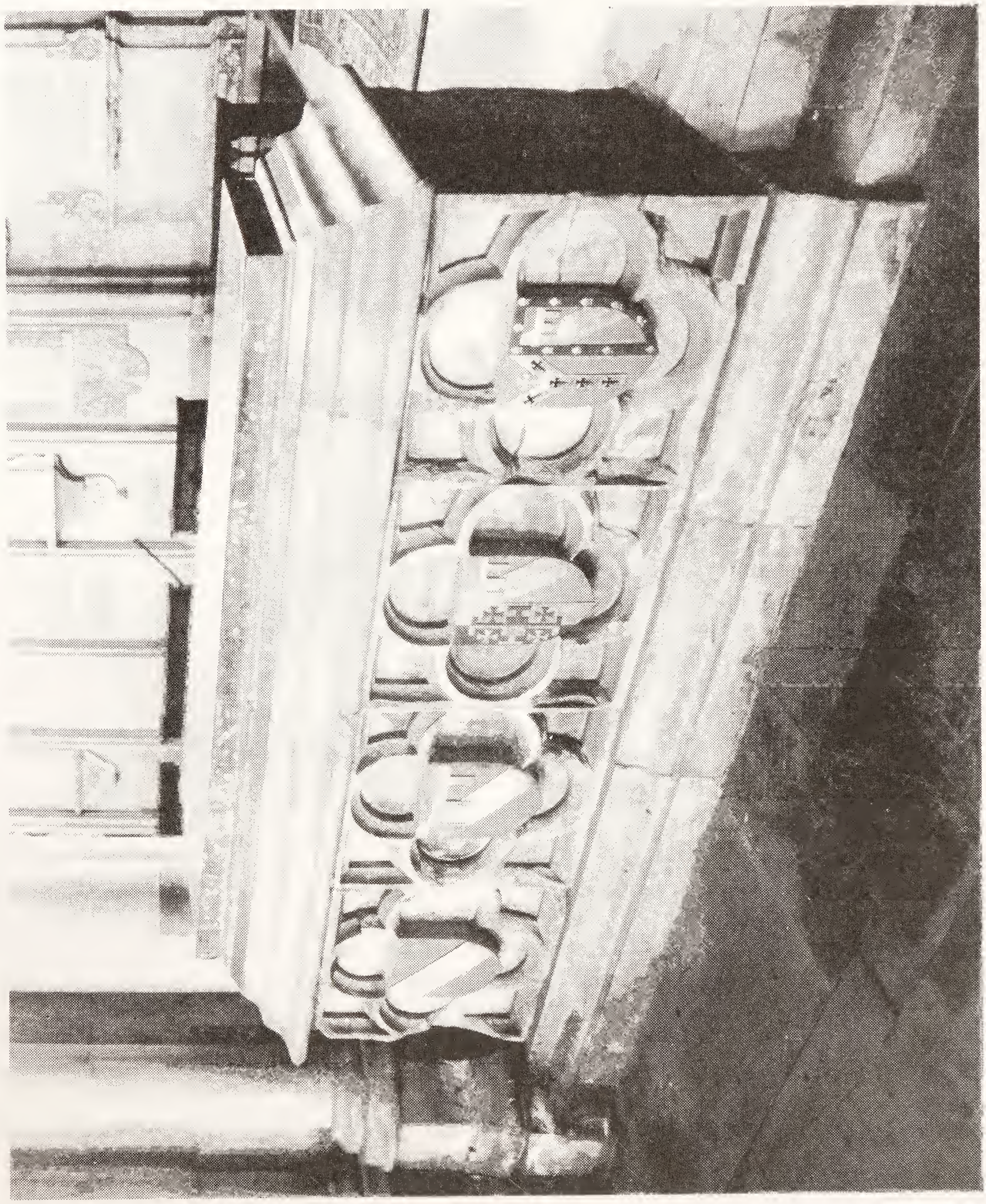


Fig. 1. York Minster: Archbishop Scrope's tomb, Photo RCHME.

life.[7] McKenna perhaps does not emphasise quite strongly enough the fact that in the early years of the cult the opposition was personal to the king for his attack on the church and a well-loved local figure. The immediate visual result of the archbishop's execution was that, within ten years, his nephew, Henry Lord Scrope, felt bold enough to place the archbishop's shield of arms in stained glass in the choir clerestorey; admittedly only a small shield high up in the tracery and scarcely readable from ground-level.[8] This could date from c.1414 after the death of Henry IV when the new king was trying to defuse the situation.[9] Two or three years later a full-sized stained-glass figure of the archbishop was placed in the south-eastern transept of the choir by his nephew and secretary Stephen le Scrope, archdeacon of Richmond (died 1418), with an invocation which addresses him as though he were already canonized.[10] Earlier probably than either of these is an illustration of the archbishop's execution in a Book of Hours said to date from before 1413.[11] Another Book of Hours, from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, contains prayers addressed to the archbishop as Saint Richard.[12] Both these Books of Hours, however, were compiled for private patrons, whereas the two previous examples belonged to a public demonstration of family loyalty. There is also a large carved stone shield with the arms of the archbishop in the fifth bay of the south arcade in the choir, but this was placed in position during the archbishop's lifetime and has no relevance to his cult.

Nothing so far provides any evidence for or against the tomb in St. Stephen's Chapel being that of the archbishop, although it indicates how strong was the feeling in York for defying any attempt to suppress the honouring of his memory. So what evidence is there for this being the tomb of Archbishop Richard le Scrope? At first sight it is all straightforward. The tomb is a simple wedge-shaped structure with four plain quatrefoiled panels enclosing shields on each side. The east end is formed of a single plain coarse stone slab, and the west end is clumsily fitted into the base of the arcade pier. The quatrefoiled sides are considerably worn and are of a different stone from some of the base and the top. It gives the appearance of having been rebuilt or extensively repaired. Its position under the arch of the easternmost bay agrees with the site to be inferred from early documents. Thomas Walworth, for example, in 1409 asked to be buried in the lady chapel close to the burial-place of the archbishop.[13] In 1418 the archbishop's nephew Stephen, the donor of the stained glass in the south-eastern transept, asked to be buried in St. Stephen's Chapel near the archbishop.[14] A position under the arch would suit both these requests. Further confirmation is found in the extraordinary story of the barricade. An immediate rush of worshippers after the burial caused the Dean and Chapter to erect a barricade to discourage them. This was said to be of logs, according to one version of the story,[15] but an official letter from John, Duke of Bedford, dated 21 September (?1405) ordered the Dean and Chapter to demolish the wooden barricade (clausure de charpentrie) around the burial-place, and to put on the ground between the pillars and well outside them 'old timbers and large stones of good

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7. J. W. McKenna, 'Popular canonization as political propaganda: the cult of archbishop Scrope', *Speculum* XLV (1970), pp. 608-623.
8. The shield lacks the label of three points argent which distinguished the cadet branch of Masham and Upsall from the senior branch of Bolton. This may have been done deliberately to minimise its impact.
9. McKenna, pp. 617-618.
10. It uses the wording of the antiphon for the feast of St. William, York's official saint.
11. Richard Marks, 'The Glazing of Fotheringay Church and College', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* CXXXI (1978), p. 97. Marks records that the archbishop appeared as a saint in Fotheringay stained glass of *c.*1470.
12. *FYMAR* (1965), pp. 28-29 and pls II and III.
13. *SS* IV (1836), p. 353.
14. *SS* IV (1836), p. 385.
15. McKenna, p. 612.

height and breadth'.[16] If the burial were under the arch this restriction of access could have been carried out without interfering with services in either the lady chapel or St. Stephen's chapel. Certainly by the time James Torre wrote his account of the Minster c.1690 there was no doubt about the tomb's identity. In this Torre has been followed by all subsequent writers who have described the Minster, although Chancellor Harrison only accepted it with some hesitation.[17]

So far so good, but there are difficulties. The logs, mentioned above, were said to have been removed, after a vision and with divine help, three days after the execution. Although table-tombs, like other funerary monuments, were often ready-made at this period, it seems unlikely that a tomb could have been made available, complete with brass inscription-strip, in the short time before the barricade was erected. No help would have come from the dean, Thomas Langley, who was a firm supporter of the Lancastrian dynasty and would have been unsympathetic to the archbishop's cause. Once the barricade was in position, the erection of a table-tomb would have been extremely difficult. Langley, promoted to the bishopric of Durham in 1406, was succeeded as dean by John Prophete, another hard-line Lancastrian. Until after the accession of Henry V in 1413, or perhaps even the death of Prophete in 1416, there would have been little easing-up in the active discouragement of the cult of the archbishop. The provision of a memorial such as a table-tomb is therefore unlikely much before the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Also when the tomb was opened in 1844, the top of a coffin was found 3 feet 3 inches below ground-level.[18] This depth perhaps suggests that no table-tomb was originally planned over the burial. Whether the laity would have had access at all to the burial in such a position right at the east end close to all the altars is another question.

Another odd detail is the failure of the Scropes to support their murdered kinsman. Archdeacon Scrope, as noted above, asked to be buried near his uncle in 1418, but that is all. The archbishop's brother Stephen, second Lord le Scrope, who died only six months after him, ignored him in his will entirely. He asked to be buried in the middle of the chapel, in front of the altar steps.[19] Another brother, Sir John le Scrope, merely asked to be buried wherever it pleased God.[20] Even more illuminating is the will of Henry, third Lord le Scrope, the archbishop's nephew. He was executed for treason in July 1415, but his will had been made in June before he was even under suspicion. Although it was presumably never carried out, since he was attainted, it was clearly made with every expectation that it would be, and is therefore relevant to the situation obtaining in York Minster in 1415. He laid down conditions for alternative burial arrangements in the Minster, both involving a tomb with an effigy and armorial bearings: first, if his wife agreed to be buried with him when she died, he was to be buried between two columns on the north side behind the high altar; otherwise he was to be buried in St. Stephen's chapel on the north side of his father's tomb.[21] Here again there is no mention of the archbishop, but the actual wording of the will is perhaps significant. Clearly, because of his royal wife, his first choice of burial-place must have been more important than the alternative in the chapel of St. Stephen.[22] Until the high altar was moved one bay eastwards in 1726 there were four bays behind it. The bay

16. *SS* XXXV (1859), p. 196. The document is in French, and I am indebted to Dr. D. M. Smith for help with the translation. McKenna, p. 612, loosely translates it as 'a wall of stones and logs'.
17. F. Harrison, *Guide Book to York Minster* (fourth edn., 1930), pp. 58-59.
18. John Browne, *The History of the Metropolitan Church of York* I (1847), p. 288.
19. *SS* XLV (1865), p. 32.
20. *SS* IV (1836), p. 339.
21. Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae..* IX (second edn., 1729), p. 272.
22. He married in 1411, as his second wife, Joan, daughter of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and widow of Edmund of Langley, duke of York.

immediately to east of it was clearly designed for the shrine of St. William, and had it been Scrope's desire to be buried near this shrine, there was no reason for him not to have stated so in clear terms. Of the other three bays the only one on the north side with any special importance was the easternmost one which contained the burial-place of Archbishop Scrope. Perhaps he intended to have the grandiose tomb for himself and his wife in the same place as the archbishop was buried, but, precisely because of his royal connection and the royal disfavour with the archbishop, only dared to indicate the position in this oblique manner. His will also shows that his father Stephen already had a tomb in the middle of the chapel by that date. Henry's brother John, fourth Lord le Scrope, also failed to mention the archbishop or his tomb in his will of 1451, although he made elaborate arrangements for his burial in the chapel.[23]

A third point to consider is the nomenclature used in the mediaeval documents. Here it is important to emphasize what Christopher Wilson wrote regarding York's genuine saint, St. William: 'Practically all the miracles of St. William are recorded as taking place 'ad tumbam' or 'ad sepulcrum' rather than at the shrine or feretrum. Medieval terminology in this matter can be expected to have been precise'.[24] The same precision can also be expected in the mediaeval records dealing with Archbishop Scrope. There are three main words used in the documents referring to Archbishop Scrope, and these are tabulated chronologically below.[25] *Sepulcrum* (or *sepultura* or the gerund *sepeliendum)* may be translated 'burial' or 'burial-place', *tumba* as 'tomb' and *feretrum* as 'shrine'.

Sepulcrum

1405	oblationes non ad sepulcrum
1405-6	entoor la sepulture
1409	sepeliendum prope et juxta sepulcrum
1409	oblationes ad sepulcrum
1415	oblationes ad sepulturam
1418	oblationes ad sepulcrum
1421	Johanni custodienti sepulcrum
1468	prope sepulcrum suum

Tumba

1458	xij*d* tumbae
1485	prope tumbam
1500	pertinentia tumbae
1509	pertinentia tumbae

Feretrum

1463/4	fire at the feretory
1467	ad usum feretri
1472	super feretrum, cum habuerit
1500	in fine orientali feretri
1517	cathena aurea ad feretrum

In addition, the chronicle recording the actual burial uses the word *humatum,* which means interment in the ground.[26] The tables above show that for the first half of the

23. *SS* XXX (1855), pp. 185-186.
24. Christopher Wilson, *The Shrines of St William of York* (Yorkshire Museum 1977), note 52.
25. I have omitted all these references, most of which are from the volumes of the Surtees Society, and many of which occur elsewhere in this article. A list of them is deposited in York Minster Library.
26. James Raine (ed.), *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, Rolls Series 71, II (1886), p. 433. Browne (I, p. 289) quotes from Barlow MS 27 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 'that sacred body rests in the earth'.

century only the word *sepulcrum* (or its alternatives) was used, but that it was replaced in the second half by *tumba* and *feretrum*. From this it can be inferred that the archbishop was buried simply in a grave dug in the ground in 1405, as the chronicle implies and as would be expected in the circumstances. It also makes much more sense of the story of the logs and the wooden and stone barricade. The distinction between *sepulcrum* and *tumba* is clearly drawn in the documents of 1405 or 1406 which aimed at clamping down on the new cult of the archbishop. Amongst five clauses laid down by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Langley, dean of York, was one which ordered that those who came to make offerings should make them not to the *sepulcrum* [of Archbishop Scrope] but to the *tumba* of St. William.[27] The word *feretrum* is less easy to explain here. Normally the *feretrum* was the shrine, of which the centre-piece was the saint's coffin or reliquary. This was later the arrangement for St. William behind the high altar.[28] But the archbishop was not a duly canonized saint like St. William here, St. Edward at Westminster Abbey, St. Alban at St. Alban's Abbey and others. He was a figure who oscillated between being venerated as an unofficial saint and shunned as a traitor, important as a focus for disaffection under Lancastrian kings but of little value under Yorkist rule. There would have been no elaborate shrine for such a figure, and it is possible that *feretrum* is used loosely as an alternative to *tumba*. Two of the entries – those of 1467 and 1472 – refer to the *feretrum* as something in the future, linked with his hoped-for translation to a more glorious monument.[29] The two sixteenth-century references are inventory entries at a time when the cult was dead and Latin was losing its hold. Alternatively, in lieu of any more elaborate construction, the head reliquary (*caput*), referred to in 1477,[30] may have been kept on top of the table-tomb, transforming it into a *feretrum*. The final form of the *feretrum* therefore remains unknown. One other word is used in connection with the archbishop. In a will of 1468 is a clause arranging for an offering to be put *in stipite beati Ricardi Lescrop prope sepulcrum suum situata*.[31] The word *stipes* amongst other meanings denotes a money-box, and here may have been used to mean the box provided for monetary offerings, which would have been at or near the tomb. To sum up, it seems that considerable changes were made just after the middle of the century resulting in a table-tomb being placed over the archbishop's grave. What happened can only be conjectured.

In 1455 died John, fourth Lord le Scrope. In his will, made in 1451, he asked to be buried in a newly-made table-tomb on the north side of the chapel.[32] This means that by 1451 there were two table-tombs in the chapel – that of Stephen le Scrope in the centre and the new one of John le Scrope on the north side. When Leland visited the Minster c.1540 he recorded various Scrope burials in St. Stephen's chapel, including John's, but made no mention of Stephen's.[33] Nor did Roger Dodsworth who came to the Minster c.1620, although he noted the inscriptions for both John and his brother William, archdeacon of Durham.[34] This means that between 1451 and 1540 Stephen's tomb, if it were still there, had lost its inscription-strip. In 1458 George Clay left 12*d* in

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27. *SS* XXXV (1859), p. 195.
28. See the splendid reconstruction by John Hutchinson in Christopher Wilson, *The Shrines of St William*, fig. 13.
29. *SS* LXIV (1875), p. 232, XLV (1865), p. 232 note. In the latter reference Robert was not abbot of Kirkby Knoll, *pace* McKenna, p. 622. He was Robert Abbot, gent, living in Kirkby Knoll (*SS* LIII (1869), p. 72 note).
30. *SS* XLV (1865), p. 232 note.
31. Ibid.
32. *SS* XXX (1855), p. 186.
33. Thomas Bradshaw, 'The Yorkshire Portion of Leland's Itinerary', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* X (1889), p. 473.
34. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Dodsworth MS 157, 6v.

his will to the *tumba* of Blessed Richard Scrope – the first time that the word *tumba* is used in connection with the archbishop.[35] Next year, 1459, Thomas, fifth Lord le Scrope, established a chantry for two chaplains in St. Stephen's chapel, which probably indicates a major refurbishing.[36] Perhaps as part of this rearrangement Stephen's altar-tomb was moved from its inconvenient place in front of the altar to a new position under the arch where the archbishop lay buried. Alternatively the move may have taken place after 1463/4 when a fire occurred at the feretory of the archbishop.[37] This fire was clearly a major disaster, and a record of 1483 shows that practically nothing inflammable survived.[38] Some fire-reddened stones could still be seen in the chapel before the cleaning of 1972.[39] Extensive damage must have been done, and the chapel probably had to be completely reordered after the wreckage and water-damage had been cleared up.[40] This would explain the lost brass inscription-strip, a feature which would have scarcely have been acceptable to the Minster or royal authorities on a tomb for the archbishop, but which would certainly have originally existed on Stephen's tomb. Whichever date is chosen, during all this period the cult of the archbishop was enjoying its last great peak of popularity, and a table-tomb sited directly over his burial-place would almost certainly have attracted his name rather than that of a now largely forgotten Stephen le Scrope of sixty years earlier. The use of the word *sepulcrum* survived until 1468 when it was used by William Hinton, who was himself the *custos sepulcri* of the archbishop.[41] The title of *custos sepulcri* goes back to 1421 and was no doubt by now hallowed by use.[42] This will explain Hinton's use of the phrase *prope sepulcrum suum*, the only appearance of *sepulcrum* after 1421.

As a postscript to this odd tale, it is worth adding the odder and still mystery-shrouded story of the tomb's nineteenth-century history. I am indebted to Mr John Hutchinson for first drawing my attention to this episode, and I owe further debts to Mr Bernard Barr and Mr Charles McCarter. The tomb was presumably damaged in 1829 when the choir was burnt, and is said to have been restored at this time,[43] and opened.[44] This opening, reported nearly eighty years later, may well be a confusion with another opening, in March 1844, recorded at length by Browne. It is worth quoting the words of Browne, who was himself present: 'During the reparations effected in the east end of the choir... the tomb of the Archbishop was considered so injured by time, as to be entitled to a renovation. It was accordingly taken down...', and later 'the [excavated] grave [was] more securely prepared for receiving the renovated tomb'.[45] It is difficult to believe that 'renovated' was the correct word to use. In 1844 (the same year!) an auction sale took place of 'Ancient Reliques preserved from the destructive fire of May, 1840'.[46] Lot 215 was a 'Beautiful Quatre-foil Tracery and Shield, with Base to d[itt]o., from Archbishop Scroope's Tomb in the Lady's Chapel', and Lot 216 a similar piece without the base. The first lot was sold to a Mr Hodgson for 16*s* and the second to a Mr Aspinall

35. Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, York Wills 2, 394v.
36. *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1452-1461 (1910), p. 506.
37. J. H. Harvey in G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster* (1977), p. 186.
38. *SS* XXXV (1859), p. 301.
39. Traces of burning on the south side of the tomb are no doubt due to the fire of 1829.
40. Harvey, p. 186.
41. The editors in *SS* XLV (1865), p. 232 note, and *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* XXXVIII (1907), p. 28 give the name as Haiton. In York Minster Library, D&C Wills I, p. 320, I read the name as Hinton.
42. *SS* XLV (1865), p. 63.
43. A. Clutton-Brock, *The Cathedral Church of York* (1902), p. 130.
44. A. P. Purey-Cust, *Walks round York Minster* (1907), p. 52.
45. Browne I (1847), p. 288.
46. York Minster Library B 3/4. Here again I am indebted to Mr. John Hutchinson for drawing my attention to this document.

for 12*s*. Browne's description of the tomb clearly indicates that there was no quatrefoil panel at either end, so these must have been two of the eight side panels. What happened then is not yet known, but in 1853 the tomb was recorded as being at Boroughbridge Hall in the West Riding – 'In the grounds are many curiosities, as the ALTAR TOMB of ARCHBISHOP SCROPE, removed from York Minster, after the fire of 1829'.[47] The last phrase gives the false impression that it was removed in the clearing-up after the fire of 1829, but Browne's account shows that it was still in the Minster in 1844, and must have been removed after being dismantled ('taken down'). Boroughbridge Hall was owned by the Lawson family at this time, but so far no information has come to light as to how they acquired either the two panels which had already been sold or the remaining six. And there the tomb remained for nearly sixty years. Mr Bernard Barr relates that the late W. J. Green remembered going as a boy with his father, the then Clerk of Works, to collect the tomb and bring it back to the Minster, and this recollection is confirmed by Mr Charles McCarter, who has found the record of its collection and replacement by the Minster staff in April and May 1912.[48] Age, the fire, the dismantlings and external exposure would explain the present patched appearance of the monument. But what took its place between 1844 and 1912? Something remained in the Minster because the tomb was mentioned in a guide-book of 1902 as being of little interest.[49] Perhaps the polished top slab was left behind and given supports of plain stone slabs, such as can now be seen closing the east end of the tomb. This would explain why Purey-Cust in 1907 was able to publish a description of the tomb as 'a plain structure of stone and Frosterly marble...', but with no mention of the panelled sides with their shields.[50]

Perhaps in the end it has all worked out satisfactorily, even if the table-tomb did not originally belong to the archbishop. What is sad is that this is the only sepulchral monument surviving in York to the important baronial family of Scrope of Masham who were such great benefactors to the Minster.

47. T. S. Turner, *History of Aldborough and Boroughbridge* (1853), p. 79.
48. In the Stoneyard Detail Time Book for the period.
49. Clutton-Brock, p. 52.
50. Purey-Cust, p. 52.

MARMADUKE BRADLEY, LAST ABBOT OF FOUNTAINS

By D. B. Foss

Bradley, near Huddersfield, may, if it wishes, almost certainly claim as its most famous son Marmaduke Bradley, the last abbot of Fountains (1536-9). He was a troublemaker, simoniac, liar and trickster – altogether an unprepossessing character.

The grange of Bradley was one of the most significant outlying possessions of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary, Fountains. A grange was a large unit of arable production, peculiar to the new monastic orders and to northern England. Yorkshire held some two hundred granges, some as small as 50 acres; the average size of Fountains's granges was 200-300 acres.[1] Bradley, over 1000 acres, was of exceptional significance.

In 'the imperfectly manorialized vills of Yorkshire' the land given to a monastic house which was put together to comprise its grange, tended to come from small grants by peasant freeholders rather than as a single large gift by a lord.[2] Bradley grange was built up essentially out of gifts to Fountains by the de Cridling or Purcell family, Ralph and his sons Adam and Richard. Sometime before 1177 Ralph granted to Fountains land which he held in Bradley and Bradley wood of Henry de Lacy, who confirmed the grant, with the right to dead wood for charcoal, exclusive right of forge, and such deposits of ironstone as might be found, at a rent of 10*s.* per annum.[3] Ralph also granted a bovate (15 acres) to Adam FitzOrm, which Adam's daughter Maud later gave to Fountains.[4] Ralph's son Richard also made a number of small grants to the abbey.[5]

The majority of the grants derived directly or indirectly from Adam de Cridling. He confirmed his father's grants, and made several more himself. These were all confirmed by Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, lord of the manor.[6] Adam's widow Alice granted Fountains her dowry in return for 10*s.* per annum.[7] Adam granted land in Bradley to Jordan de Rie and his sons, who gave six acres to Fountains; the balance of Jordan's holding was later quitclaimed to the abbey by his daughter-in-law Sybil de Gledholt.[8] Adam also granted 2 acres to Robert Carpenter, who was able to take advantage of Fountains's anxiety to consolidate its holding in Bradley by exchanging them for 17 acres in Elland and some land in Kirkheaton.[9]

Bradley grange, mentioned in a grant of Adam and confirmed by a charter of Richard I, was established by 1199.[10] Mills were built: Adam de Crosland allowed Fountains as many millstones from his land as it required, and the otherwise unknown Lece, prioress

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1. T. A. M. Bishop, Monastic Granges in Yorkshire, *English Historical Review*, 51 (1936), pp. 193, 214.
2. Bishop, p. 200.
3. Ed. W. T. Lancaster, *Abstracts of the Charters and other Documents contained in the Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in the West Riding of the County of York*, 2 vols., privately printed, Leeds, 1915, pp. 121-2 (Bradley section, nos. 1, 3) *(Chartulary)*
4. *Chartulary*, p. 130 (34).
5. *Chartulary*, p. 129 (26-29).
6. *Chartulary*, pp. 122, 125-8, 130 (4, 12, 14-19, 23, 30-33); W. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1846, v, 307.
7. *Chartulary*, p. 128 (20-22).
8. *Chartulary*, pp. 123-6, 128, 130 (5-11, 13, 20-22, 35).
9. *Chartulary*, pp. 129 (124-5), 366.
10. Ed. J. R. Walbran, *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains* (II, Part 1), Surtees Society, 67 for 1876 (1878). p. 14. *Chartulary*, p. 127.

of Kirklees, permitted a milldam on the nuns' land by the Calder.[11] Arable production occasioned tithe dispute with the Augustinian priory of Nostell, corporate rector of the neighbouring parish of Huddersfield. In 1245 Fountains paid Nostell ten marks, and promised not to hinder collection of due tithe from its tenants; in 1300 6*s*. 8*d*. was paid for tithes of corn on Jordan de Rie's land situated in the parish of Huddersfield but cultivated by the monks.[12]

Fountains erected bridges over the Calder and Colne by 1272 and 1285. Colne bridge linked Bradley with the abbey's holdings in Kirkheaton. Calder bridge was allowed to fall into disrepair, 'to the great damage and nuisance of the whole country'. Tourns at Rastrick on 10 December 1308 and 21 May 1309, and courts at Wakefield on 13 June 1309 and 18 October 1315, held first the grangers, then the abbot, responsible for this dilapidation, and ordered the abbot's distraint – in 1315 by thirteen horses with amercement of 40*s*. The judgement was reversed by a court in Easter week 1317, which found the abbot not liable to maintain the bridge, his predecessors having done so merely from goodwill.[13]

Disinterest in the state of the bridge hints that the mineral deposits were now exhausted. This may also be a reason for Fountains's desire to farm the grange in 1363. Bradley however was only one of nine granges farmed at this time, part of a general shift in policy from direct exploitation of demesne to leasing for rent.[14] On 17 November 1363 the abbots of Rievaulx and Byland, commissaries of the abbot of Citeaux, reported that they had investigated and found correct the claim by Fountains that the nine granges had been broken down and impoverished by incursions by the Scots, war, pestilence and other visitations, and granted licence to farm the properties to secular persons for an annual rent.[15] The catalogue of calamities is of course purely common form bearing minimal substance in reality.

The bursars' books for 1456-8 record the rent for Bradley at £14 per annum. Expenses for travel there on the abbey's business varied from 4*d*. to 9*d*. per visit. Three rods of fencing were erected at Bradley, at a cost of 41*s*. 8*d*., by William Burlay, who also repaired a tenement at Kirkheaton and collected the abbey's rents.[16] In the fifteenth century the tenancy was held by the Snaiths; in his will of 1472 Ralph Snaith bequeathed to his wife the farmhold which he held by indenture under the abbot's seal.[17]

From 1478 until and beyond the dissolution Bradley was held by successive generations of the Pilkington family. This again typifies a prevailing general policy, of renting to a single tenant of some social standing, administratively more convenient than employing a bailiff to supervise a larger number of tenants of lower status. In Bradley's case this involved regranting to the illegitimate son of a deceased tenant, taking the unusual step of increasing the rent into the bargain.[18]

Sir John Pilkington was constable of Chester and Sandal castles, steward of the manor of Wakefield, and M.P. for Yorkshire in 1472 and 1477. Edward IV had granted him the

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11. *Chartulary*, pp. 132-3.
12. Nostell Chartulary, British Library Cotton Vespasian E xix, f. 183.
13. *Chartulary*, pp. 139, 357; *Wakefield Court Rolls*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol. II, 1297-1309, 36 (1906), pp. 186, 209-10, 215; Vol. III, 1313-16 & 1258, 57 (1917), p. 77.
14. Bishop, pp. 196-7.
15. Ed. J. R. Walbran, *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains* (I), Surtees Society, 42 for 1862 (1863), p.204. *(MFI)*
16. Ed. J. T. Fowler, *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains* (III, consisting of Bursars' Books, 1456-9, and Memorandum Book of Thomas Swynton, 1446-58), Surtees Society 130 (1918), pp. 5, 26-27, 53, 70, 148.
17. *Testamenta Eboracensa*, Surtees Society, iii, 205.
18. Ed. D. J. H. Michelmore, *The Fountains Abbey Lease Book*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 140 for 1979-80 (1981), p. lxv.

attainted Lancastrian Thomas Lord Roos's manor of Thornton-in-Craven, the advowson of whose church he granted to Fountains in 1476. This was clearly an acquisition of some value, in return for which Abbot Swinton granted him lands in Kirkheaton, Liversedge, Elland, and the manor of Bradley, worth an estimated £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, for the nominal rent of a red rose at midsummer. But Roos's heirs were petitioning for restoration, and Swinton inserted the saving clause that if Fountains lost Thornton, the monks would re-enter Bradley.[19]

John Pilkington died in 1479, leaving in his will £10 to the abbot of Fountains, and 6*s.* 8*d.* to each monk.[20] He intended his son Edward to inherit Bradley in 1490, his twenty-third year. But on 7 November 1485, following the change of dynasty, parliament restored Lord Roos's lands to his heirs.[21] Fountains lost Thornton, and re-entered Bradley. In 1486 Edward himself died, leaving an illegitimate son, Robert. On 10 November 1487 Abbot Darnton granted Bradley to Robert at an annual rent of £16 and a pound of pepper, an increase of £2, with the provision that the rent should cease if Fountains regained Thornton.[22] The same rent is recorded in 1527, 1532 and 1536.[23]

Robert died in 1497, leaving a minor, Arthur, whose wardship was sold by Abbot Huby to Nicholas Savile for forty marks and a rent of £40 and a pound of pepper.[24] Inquisitions after Robert's death and Arthur's in 1537 established the extent of the manor of Bradley as 1000 acres of pasture, 100 of meadow and 300 of moorland. In 1502, when Savile relinquished possession, Bradley was worth £19 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.[25]

It is a reasonable supposition that Bradley by the Calder, a significant possession of his house for 350 years, was Abbot Bradley's birthplace, but no incontestible evidence establishes the fact.[26] He may have derived his uncommon Christian name from Marmaduke Huby, then a monk of Fountains – close relationships are known to have existed between monastic landlords and their tenants.[27]

The dates of Bradley's birth and profession are unknown. His occurrence as abbot's chaplain on 6 September 1509[28] places his birth in 1485 or before. A university career – Ripon documents entitle him *magister* – would push it some years earlier still, say to 1477-8. He died in 1553. If he were then in his late 70s, this would explain the ill-health or old age which prevented his fulfilment of residence at Ripon in 1544-6.[29]

Bradley was bursar and cellarer of Fountains in 1515 and 1517.[30] He then fell from grace, and despite designs on the headship of more than one house, held no further office until he became abbot of Fountains in 1536. By then he was also prebendary of Thorpe in Ripon and master of St. Mary Magdalene hospital.[31]

The cause of Bradley's disgrace is a matter for conjecture. He was rehabilitated by Guillaume V du Boisset, abbot of Citeaux 1517-21. His offences are not specified, but the date suggests that he belonged to the group of six or eight disaffected monks led by

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19. C. T. Clay, Bradley, a Grange of Fountains, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Journal*, 29 (1929), pp. 97-106; *Lease Book*, p. xxxviii, nos. 91n, 93.
20. *Testamenta Eboracensa*, iii, p. 238.
21. *Rolls of Parliament*, vi, p. 310.
22. *Lease Book*, no. 93.
23. Steward's Book: a manuscript volume containing accounts, 1525-39, for receipt of rents, compiled by an unidentified obedientiary; in Yorkshire Archaeological Society Miscellaneous Documents 335, pp. 107, 195, 309.
24. *Lease Book*, no. 272; Leeds City Archives, Vyner Records, 940.
25. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Henry VII, iii, 1955, p. 47 no. 77.
26. Clay, pp. 101-2, 106.
27. *Lease Book*, p. xxxviii.
28. *Lease Book*, no. 130.
29. See below.
30. *Lease Book*, nos. 30, 17.
31. See below.

Edward Tyrry, who opposed the rule of Abbot Huby and sought to replace him with their own candidate.[32] Huby unsuccessfully begged the abbot of Citeaux not to rehabilitate Tyrry or 'the others'.[33] Bradley is likely to have been one of 'the others', and the opposition's candidate himself after Tyrry's death.

Bradley failed to succeed Huby in 1526, and continued to intrigue against the new abbot, William Thirsk. His scheming hand may lay behind the letter of the Earl of Northumberland to Thomas Arundel, a member of Cardinal Wolsey's entourage, expressing the earl's concern as a benefactor of Fountains at Thirsk's indiscretion, uncharitable conversation and waste of the abbey's cattle and woods. The convent would pay Wolsey 500 marks, the earl intimated, if he would appoint a commission of local abbots to deprive Thirsk and supervise the election of his successor.[34] The most likely source of the 500 marks is Bradley's Ripon prebend.

Unsuccessful in this second attempt at the abbacy of Fountains, Bradley tried twice to become abbot of Rievaulx. He was a candidate in the election held on 6 April 1529. On 9 April, Thomas Donyngton, Wolsey's chaplain, reported on the election to the cardinal, and conveyed Bradley's offer of his prebend, one of Ripon's best, from which Wolsey might make £100, in return for preferment through the cardinal's patronage.[35] Bradley offered the same prebend to Thomas Cromwell via Layton and Legh in 1536.

Thirsk and the abbot of Byland, as commissaries of the abbot of Citeaux, supervised the 1529 election at Rievaulx. This will not have made for good relations with Bradley. Nor will the abbots' refusal to co-operate with Cromwell in the removal of the abbot of Rievaulx in 1533. This marked Thirsk out as unamenable, and started him on his road to the gallows. Cromwell's anxiety to replace the abbot of Rievaulx may have resulted from yet another offer by Bradley. Legh complained to Cromwell that the abbots 'lightly regarded' his pleasure concerning 'Riwax', and Cromwell expressed his amazement that the abbots should incur the King's displeasure by failing to secure the election of a new abbot there. The chastened abbots hastened to reply that with the abbot of Kirkstall's assistance, they had assigned the abbot of Rievaulx a pension of £14 per annum, and that any delay in his departure was of his making, they knew not its cause.[36]

Thirsk's repentance was too little, too late, and Cromwell's creatures, Layton and Legh, arrrived on their visitation of Fountains bent on deposing him, their determination strengthened by Bradley's handsome bribe for the honour of succeeding him. On 19 January 1536 they assigned Thirsk a pension of 100 marks (£66 13*s*. 4*d*.); Bradley later tried to have this reduced. On the 20th they reported to Cromwell that they had accepted the resignation of 'this very fool and miserable idiot', having found that he had dilapidated his house and wasted its woods, had kept six whores, and a mere two days before their arrival had stolen from the sacristy at dead of night a gold cross in which a great emerald and ruby were set, and had sold it to a Cheapside jeweller named Warren. They thoughtfully added that the King might profitably pursue Warren for sacrilege and theft. They had not however publicised Thirsk's deposition, and had allowed him to continue in office as before, until Cromwell's pleasure might be known; they reasonably anticipated this would be acceptance of Bradley's bribe.[37]

Thirsk was a university man, and no idiot. His good and virtuous living, learning,

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32. Ed. C. H. Talbot, *Letters from the English Abbots to the Chapter at Citeaux, 1442-1521*, Camden, 4th series, 4, Royal Historial Society, 1967, pp. 267-8; *Lease Book*, p. xxxviii.
33. *Letters from the English Abbots*, pp. 258-60; C. H. Talbot, Marmaduke Huby, Abbot of Fountains 1495-1526, *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 20 (1964), pp. 165-84.
34. *MFI*, p. 252.
35. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, IV, Part 3, 1529-30, 1876, no. 5445.
36. *MFI*, pp. 260-4.
37. *MFI*, pp. 265-7.

experience and gravity had been certified after his election by the dean of York and the abbots of Rievaulx and Roche.[38] He may well have removed the cross for safekeeping against the visitors' imminent arrival. The only charge against him which merits any serious consideration is that of wasting the abbey's woods. Gilyard-Beer thought him 'less than prudent' in this matter.[39] On 2 October 1530 Thirsk sold wood in Swanholme for a mere five marks, and did not pass the contract under the abbey seal.[40] But nothing in the Lease Book betrays him as a bad administrator. On the contrary, the fact that he ordered its compilation reveals his interest in estate management and financial administration.[41] Showing a marked reluctance to hand abbey properties over to Bradley, Thirsk removed to Jervaulx. He became involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and was executed at Tyburn in May 1537.[42]

Having deposed Thirsk, Layton and Legh candidly informed Cromwell that 'there is never a monk within that house meet for that room'. They then recommended Bradley on financial grounds:

> There is a monk of that house called Marmaduke... twenty years officer and ruler of all that house, a wealthy fellow, which will give you 600 marks to make him abbot, and pay you immediately after the election without delay or respite, at one payment... The first fruits to the King is a thousand pounds, which he with his policy will pay within three years... this monk of Ripon hath a prebend of £40 which you may bestow also upon your friend if you make him abbot.[43]

The letter contained two blatant improvements on the truth. It was twenty years *since Bradley had been* an officer of the house. His prebend was nominally worth £19.[44] The three lied together. Layton and Legh wanted Bradley's offer accepted as much as he did. They forgot to mention how much he was paying them.

Cromwell duly secured Bradley's election, and received the new abbot's fulsome thanks. But in Bradley Cromwell had met his match. Three letters to Cromwell, of 6 and 21 March and 21 August 1536, display different facets of Bradley's character, all unpleasant.

On 6 March he complained about ex-abbot Thirsk. As a condition of his pension, Thirsk had undertaken to render an account of his stewardship of Fountains's affairs, and to hand over to Bradley all the abbey's goods, including £100 which had passed into his hands since his resignation, by the third Sunday in Lent. This was thirteen days away, but Thirsk was refusing to hand anything over. Instead, after his resignation, he had appointed Sir William Malory of Studley Royal general receiver of the abbey's rents, and Malory was engaged in trying to secure from the King both Thirsk's pension, and confirmation of his appointment, which Bradley and the convent had refused. Bradley requested Cromwell to frustrate both attempts, and urged that when Thirsk eventually received his pension, it should be no more than 20 marks, certainly not £40 (Thirsk had in fact been assigned 100 marks), considering that his misrule had left the abbey in a ruinous state, the abbey was crippled by the burden of the firstfruits promised to the King, and the Cistercian order had a statute, *De Abbate Resignante,* under which only a wise abbot who had ruled for ten years should be granted an adequate *(competentem)* pension.[45] Malory retaliated by denying the monks right of way through

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38. *Lease Book*, pp. xxx-xxxi; *Letters and Papers... Henry VIII*, Appendix no. 85; *MFI*, p. 268.
39. R. Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains Abbey*, Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1970/1986, p. 15.
40. *MFI*, p. 253.
41. *Lease Book* p. xxxi.
42. *MFI*, pp. 268-9.
43. *MFI*, pp. 266-7.
44. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 250.
45. *MFI*, pp. 281-5.

Studley Royal; on 29 June 1537 Bradley was forced to an accommodation with his son William, granting an annuity of £3 6*s*. 8*d*. in return for restoration of free access.[46]

Bradley also used the burden of firstfruits as an excuse for welching on his promise to give up his prebend. On 21 March he protested to Cromwell that he had never given any such pledge. His house was under such threat that he would sooner resign his 'abbotship'. But he had dispensation to hold both, and must do so until the massive imposition of firstfruits had been cleared.[47]

Bradley was not totally unaccommodating. On 3 May he granted 'master doctor Petre', one of Cromwell's visitors, a pension of £40 per annum.[48] Petre had done considerably less for Fountains than Thirsk. But on 21 August he flatly refused to prefer Cromwell's servant William Daill to the grange of Sutton. Sutton was needed to provide food, wood and cattle for the abbey's hospitality, and had already been granted to a tenant by Abbot Thirsk. In this case, Bradley may have been exercising caution. The King also wanted Sutton for a servant.[49] It was less dangerous to refuse both for good reason than to accede to one and offend the other.

The same financial acumen and eye to the interests of Fountains, leavened by awareness that its days were numbered, characterised Bradley's administration of all the abbey's affairs. He acted as his own receiver[50] – there was little trust between the convent and its usurper abbot. Bradley's approach was typical of that of similar houses at this time. From mid-1538 he began to lease the abbey's demesne at a rapid rate, deliberately running down its stock prior to its confiscation. Eighteen leases are recorded in the half year 1 June 1538 – 2 January 1539. There had been no more than nine in any full year since 1495, and only thirteen in the first two-and-a-half years of Bradley's rule.[51] They were granted now on easier terms, at values reported to the King's commissioners in 1535 which were less than the economic rent, for a low entry fine, and on the basis not previously permitted that a single holding might be split between two or more tenants.[52] Most wisely of all, Bradley kept Fountains out of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

On 26 November 1539 Bradley and the monks of Fountains assembled in their chapterhouse to surrender their abbey to the King.[53] Fountains enjoyed a clear annual revenue of £998 6*s*. 8*d*. Its eighty copes, twenty-two silver chalices, 2480 ounces of plate (794 of them in the abbot's custody), exemplify the wealth of its possessions.[54] Pensions were assigned to the thirty-two remaining monks on 28 November. Abbot Bradley received £100 per annum; the prior, Thomas Kydde, £8; three monks £6 13*s*. 4*d*., twelve £6, seven £5 6*s*. 8*d*., and eight £5.[55] Bradley's pension was confirmed by the King on 1 March 1540, witnessed by Richard Rich.[56] Over fifty per cent greater than Thirsk's, it was awarded for an abbacy one third the length. Nothing was said about the ten year rule in Bradley's case.

Bradley retired to the prebend of Thorpe, which he had wisely refused to relinquish, and began a new career as residentiary canon of Ripon. By 1544 he was sole residentiary

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46. Leeds City Archives, Vyner Records 4835.
47. *MFI*, pp. 285-6.
48. *MFI*, pp. 286-7.
49. *MFI*, pp. 287-8.
50. *Lease Book* p. xxxv.
51. *Lease Book* pp. xxxiv-v, nos. 237-82.
52. *Lease Book* pp. xxxiv-v, xliii, nos. 245-8, 250, 268 (e.g. Swanley grange for forty years for a mere five marks per annum).
53. *MFI*, pp. 296-301 (the Deed of Surrender).
54. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, pp. 288, 290-1; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 249.
55. *MFI*, pp. 302-3.
56. *MFI*, p. 303.

and president of chapter, but sickness or old age was rendering the obligation of residence a great strain. The fabric of the collegiate church was in an equally frail state, however – on 5 November 1538 Bradley had given £4 from the fruits of his prebend for the repair of the chapter house[57] – and the coincidence of the two prompted the chapter to accept yet another of Bradley's deals. On 7 October it was resolved that Bradley should reside for six weeks in the current year, being actually present, as Archbishop Lee had required in his visitation *comperta*, at Mattins, Mass and Vespers, for which he would receive £15, and the remainder of his remuneration as residentiary would be applied to the fabric. His six weeks' intermittent residence was certified on 3 February 1545, the day he completed it.[58]

Chapter agreed to review the position on 25 June 1545, and did so on 7 September. Both Bradley and the fabric were worse; the tower was about to fall down. Bradley made a new offer, of all his dividend, except 10 marks per annum, until St. Mark's day 1547. In return, chapter dispensed him from residence, except on double feasts, but even then he might be absent for good cause or through grave infirmity, and allowed him to retain his pre-eminence and jurisdiction as president of chapter. But, it intimated, when this period was complete, he must reside, or forgo all remuneration.[59]

By 30 October 1546 both Bradley and building had deteriorated still further – the north aisle had joined the tower in imminent state of collapse. Bradley was constrained to yet more generous measures. In return for retention of his presidency of chapter, with its jurisdiction and profits, he conceded his remuneration to the fabric, except only £5 per annum, until St. Mark's day 1549. But he took care to stipulate that if at any time he was able to resume and fulfil his residence, he was to receive the full sum![60]

Bradley never changed. He died on 11 April 1553 and was buried at Ripon,[61] having outlived not only Henry VIII, but Layton and Legh and also Thomas Cromwell, executed four months after the confirmation of Bradley's pension. His will has not been found. What devious dispositions might that have contained?

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57. Ed. J. T. Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon* (II), Surtees Society, 78 (1884), pp. 179-80, 251; York Fabric Rolls 242; Ripon Chapter Acts 304.
58. Ed. J. T. Fowler, *Acts of Chapter of the Collegiate Church of SS Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon* (I), Surtees Society, 64 for 1874 (II) (1875), pp. 348-51.
59. *Acts of Chapter.. Ripon*, pp. 351-2.
60. Ed. J. T. Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon* (I), Surtees Society, 74 for 1881 (1882), pp. 304-6.
61. *Memorials of Ripon* (II), p. 224 (refers to Ripon Chapter MS 94, *Oblaciones Mortuorum)*.

MONASTIC LEASING BEFORE THE DISSOLUTION: THE EVIDENCE OF BOLTON PRIORY AND FOUNTAINS ABBEY

By Richard Hoyle

The dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536-40 brought to an end not only a tradition of liturgy, worship and observance which had existed in England for half a millennium, but also terminated their existence as independent, property owning corporations.[1] The proportion of the country's surface which they owned will never be known although estimates of around a quarter or a third are of the right order. In the West Riding, R. B. Smith estimated that the church held 27 per cent of the 'freehold income' from lands in the county, of which perhaps three-quarters belonged to religious houses.[2] All this land was seized by the Crown and briefly added to its own estates. In the 1540s and early 1550s most was sold to fund warfare against Scotland and France and by the accession of Mary little was left in the monarch's hands. The Great Plunder had become the Great Redistribution.

It is arguable whether the monasteries contributed a great deal to the spiritual life of the laity and a case may be made for saying that they disappeared, unlamented by most. It cannot be contested that their abolition, the confiscation of their lands and the subsequent sale of their endowments was nothing but a disaster for the historian. The record keeping traditions of the houses were ended at a stroke. The records themselves were dispersed and often destroyed leaving only those scraps and fragments from which the history of most medieval religious houses has to be written. Often more survives of their buildings than the charters, accounts, leases and correspondence that they once contained. Given that there is so little, it is all the more important to gather that which remains, but even more necessary to understand what these fragments mean. This paper sets out to fulfill two purposes: to extend the work of collection and publication for the records of two monastic houses, Bolton Priory and Fountains Abbey, and then to discuss why these houses made use of that most seductive of documents, the lease, in the management of their estates in the early sixteenth century.

The survival of the records of any house's estate management is largely a matter of chance and fortune. For Fountains there survives a number of working account books and most importantly for our purposes a register of leases and other documents made in 1533 and maintained until the dissolution of the house in 1540. In 1982 David Michelmore produced a splendid edition of this manuscript for the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series under the title of the 'Fountains Lease Book'.[3] Regrettably it is not a complete record of Fountains' leases. Michelmore was able to add a

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1. Some of the material presented here first appeared in my thesis, *'Land and Landed Relations in Craven, Yorkshire, c.1520-1600'* (Oxford D.Phil 1986) ch. 3 (c). The present discussion supersedes that offered previously. All documents cited or printed in Appendices 1-3 are lodged in the Public Record Office except where otherwise indicated.
2. R. B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII* (1970) table V (a).
3. D. J. H. Michelmore (ed.), 'The Fountains Abbey Lease Book', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* 140 (1981 for 1979-80) (cited subsequently as *FLB*). It might be added that whilst the 'dissolution survey' of the part of the Fountain's estate granted to Sir Richard Gresham was printed as long ago as 1863, the minister's account for the remainder is still unpublished.

supplement of unregistered documents to which more are added in appendix one below. Much less survives from Bolton: of the internal archives of the house, all that remains is the cartulary, the fine early fourteenth-century account book, and a rental of 1473 which was printed by Professor Kershaw in 1970.[4] What has generally not been appreciated is the quantity of material from the last years of both monasteries' existence which survives amongst the records of the Court of Augmentations. The rentals and accounts which were made on and after the dissolution are well known, but there can also be found amongst the records of Augmentations the originals or texts of large numbers of monastic leases and other documents which amplify and supplement the record of the minister's accounts. The locations of these leases are worth recording.

The first class to which reference should be made is that of the original monastic leases, E303. These are the counterparts of leases granted by monasteries arranged by the houses which granted them. They survive in variable numbers, 5 in the case of Fountains, but 37 for Bolton, 75 for Byland, 64 for St. Mary's York and over 100 for Whitby. In all there are over 1200 extant for Yorkshire (E303/22-29). *Copies* of leases can be found in two other classes of documents. It was an accepted practice for leases and other instruments granted by monastic houses (and indeed private individuals such as the sixth earl of Northumberland) to be exhibited before the court of Augmentations after the lands had been confiscated, and then enrolled in the decree and order books of the court (E315/92-105). These enrolments recite the text of the lease; they may be traced by searching the modern calendar page by page. Some of these same leases, but many others in addition, were enrolled by the auditors of the court of Augmentations in their own working registers, now contained within the general series of Land Revenue enrolment books, LR1. These volumes contain a wide variety of materials, those for this period including transcripts of monastic and crown leases, grants of pensions to monks and nuns, grants of lands by the crown, occasional letters and orders all jumbled together. There are rich pickings to be had. LR1/174 contains about 40 Fountains' leases (most of which are known because of the survival of the lease book) but also a large number of grants of annuities made by the house in its last years. In addition it has leases made by the friary of St. Robert in Knaresborough and the archbishop of York in Hexhamshire and a register of leases granted by Cockersand Abbey (Lancashire) compiled by the dissolution commissioners in January 1539. LR1/169 consists substantially of leases and copies of court roll made by Whitby. The searcher is best advised to approach these volumes through the nineteenth-century indices: that covering LR1/169-179 (which contain most if not all of the monastic material) is IND 7645.

Those leases and other documents emanating from Bolton and Fountains which were located in a trawl through the Augmentations archive (and which are previously unpublished), are described below (appendices one and two); they may be taken as an indication of the potential richness of the sources. Had the lease book not survived, it would have been possible to draw upon the texts of 50-60 Fountains leases from these sources.[5] In the case of Fountains, I have added four further leases known only from other sources. The Bolton conventual leases also include a number of conveyances to and from the priory which have been included in Appendix one.

The records of Augmentations also contain numerous texts of a further type of

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4. I. Kershaw (ed.), 'Bolton Priory Rentals and Ministers' Accounts, 1473-1539', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* 132 (1970 for 1969) (cited subsequently as *BPR*).
5. These leases mostly relate to that part of the estate which was not granted to Gresham in 1540. The following leases in E303 are the counterparts to leases printed by Michelmore: E303/22 no. 203=*FLB* 126; 205=*FLB* 13; 207=*FLB* 104. E303/22/203 is not strictly a Fountains' document, being an assignment from Sir William Mallory dated 18 April [1535] to [?Richard] Green of Newby esq, reciting *FLB* 126, of the tithe hay of Topcliffe for the remainder of the term. There is a note that the lease has been surrendered for a new term. The manuscript is damaged and the sense is not clear.

instrument issued by monastic houses in large numbers before the dissolution. Although historians have long been aware that monastic houses were encumbering their income with grants of annuities to friends and clients in the years before 1540, the phenomenon has never been studied. In appendix three all extant grants of annuity made by the two communities are gathered, with a brief suggestion of their significance.

Before turning to the leases made by Fountains and Bolton, we might usefully survey the type of interest which the leases conveyed to the lessee. The lease was a contract negotiated between lessor and lessee in which the lessor granted a right to hold and exploit lands for a finite term in return for rents and the tenant's adherence to whatever covenants the landlord chose to demand. The important point about the lease was that the landlord was under no obligation to make or renew it: he could ask for whatever entry fine or rent his land could command. In these respects the lease stands in opposition to the copy of court roll. This too was an instrument by which the tenant held his lands from his landlord, but unlike the lease the landlord's rights were circumscribed by custom. The lord of a copyhold was unable to raise rents (and often fines too): he could not fashion his tenements into new forms or bind his tenants with covenants for building or agricultural improvements. It was therefore in the landlord's interest, in a period of buoyant demand for land and rising rents, to convert his copyholders to leaseholders. Conversely it was in the interests of his tenants to cling to their existing copyhold tenancies because these gave them an increasingly advantageous form of possession. The idea that such a conversion took place has been axiomatic in much writing on English agricultural history.[6]

There is another distinction between the two forms of tenancy which although technical is of the utmost importance. The legal position of the copyholder was, until the mid-sixteenth century, weak: his right of redress should his lord evict him was limited. Likewise his right of inheritance, if denied, could only be enforced by appeal to the equitable jurisdiction of either Chancery or Requests. In the eyes of the common law, he was, until later, a mere tenant at will who could be dispossessed. The rights conferred by the lease were in one sense slighter, for the tenant had no right of renewal, but the lease conveyed a superior interest during the term in that the leaseholder held an estate acknowledged by the common law. In the early sixteenth century, the copyholder who felt insecure might well feel that it would be advantageous to become a leaseholder.[7] Hence it is not so strange that some of the copyholding tenants of Bolton in the manor of Kildwick should have taken leases after the fall of the house.[8]

With the exception of the Fountain's lease book, most of the material on monastic leasing available to us comes one way or another from the records of Augmentations. The crown's administrators in the court were, however, not antiquarians. Their concern was with those documents which possessed a utility in 1536-40: they had no reason to preserve or record leases which had expired or been surrendered for new terms. It is well known that the last years of the monasteries saw a considerable outburst of leasing and, inevitably, the events of these years are relatively well documented. Before we can begin to assess the use that monastic houses made of leases before the storm clouds gathered, we need to establish both the extent, chronology and motivation for the leases of the last years.

The extent of the monks' dispersal of their estates can be illustrated quickly from both

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6. For a recent restatement, see Robert Brenner's contributions in T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin (eds.), *The Brenner Debate* (1985).
7. For a recent discussion of these points, see A. W. B. Simpson, *A History of the Land Law* (second edition 1986) pp. 92-3, 163, 247.
8. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XV p. 560.

Bolton and Fountains. At Bolton we have in either Appendix one below or in the printed minister's account details of 52 leases, of which 9 are undated: of the remainder 13 date from 1536 or earlier, 2 from 1537 and 28 from 1538. At Fountains 27 leases are known to have been made during the course of 1538 compared with 26 in the nine-year abbacy of William Thirsk (1526-35).[9]

The reasons for this leasing have never really been understood. It has been suggested variously that the monks were eager to buy local support in a vain attempt to secure their future; that in their final days they fell victim to the circling vultures of local gentry, jockeying to secure their own positions; or that they offered to make leases to secure a nest egg for an uncertain world outside the convent. In addition there is the suspicion that many leases were made on the informal condition that if the house survived the lease would be void. Professor Youings found a Cheshire lease which formally stated these terms: the possibility of collusive grants therefore must be considered.[10] It has to be acknowledged that the majority of Bolton's and Fountains' leases were made to tenants in possession rather than gentry, and we might question whether the lesser tenants were cajoled into accepting such leases – Michelmore, for instance, speaks of the tenants being 'induced'.[11] The experience of the two houses needs to be treated independently.

At Bolton the commencement of the leasing of the estates can be dated quite closely to the spring of 1538. Fourteen leases were granted in April-June, followed by a slack period in mid-summer, after which a further six leases were granted in September. But of all the tenants, relatively few took leases: if Bolton attempted to persuade its tenants to take leases as a money raising device, then the house was largely unsuccessful. At Appletreewick, with the highest preponderance of leases, only five tenants accepted new terms during 1538. But in two areas the priory almost completely liquidated its interests. By the end of 1538 practically no tithes were in hand, and the majority of its more peripheral estates, for instance those at Wigton, Weeton and Brandon, had been leased.[12]

The pattern of leasing within Craven is therefore profoundly irregular. All tithes were leased to a mixture of gentry, peasant consortia and absentee investors, but only a minority of tenements. The terms on which these leases were made were irregular with no common term, and the whole process was protracted over the course of the year at a time when the surrender of the house could have been expected at almost any moment. The leasing therefore appears to have been *ad hoc*, unsystematic and applied only to a small number of the prior's tenants. Indeed, it smells less of an initiative by the priory than the monks acceding to the requests of a minority of tenants for leases.

Of those who did relatively well from the process, we might consider the first earl of Cumberland. Cumberland was founder of the house: he or a member of his family acted as the house's steward. He drew upon their tenants in time of war and in the event of the house's surrender to the crown, he could reasonably expect to be favoured with a lease if not an outright grant. The wholesale granting of leases to tenants and speculators insidiously served to dissolve his rights over the tenants. He, or his nominees, were therefore anxious to secure their claims through leases of their own. In February 1538 they took a lease of the larger part of Kildwick tithes, in June the tithes of Skipton and part of Skipton parish and the tithes of Carleton and Broughton parishes, and at some time they also had a lease of Wigglesworth and Hellifield tithes.[13] In the lordship of

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9. *FLB* xxxii plus 7 leases in App. 2 below.
10. J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1971) p. 60.
11. *FLB* p. xxxiv.
12. *BPR* pp. 35-7.
13. *BPR* pp. 57-9, below App. 1 no. 30.

Appletreewick, five leases were granted to tenants in April-May 1538, after which, on 21 June, Ingram Clifford, the earl's younger son, took a lease of the whole lordship.[14] Why should Ingram take a lease only after the dissolution of the lordship had commenced? Can his action be read as an attempt to prevent the further granting of leases at the request of tenants by securing the whole to preserve the earl's rights? It is far from insignificant that on the same day as Ingram Clifford obtained his lease, the earl further secured his grip over the estates by having his brother, Sir Thomas, and Ingram Clifford appointed joint stewards of Bolton's lands and by taking a lease for tithes in Skipton parish.[15]

If the purpose of granting leases was to defuse a panic amongst the tenants, the question remains as to why the priory should have been willing to grant leases for terms which extended well beyond mid-century. The possibility was mentioned earlier that some monastic leases might have been granted on a conditional basis and it is possible to show that at Bolton an agreement existed whereby the tenants agreed to surrender their leases if the house survived the period of crisis. In 1540 the earl of Cumberland, having negotiated a lease of the estates of the priory, complained to Augmentations about a number of the priory's tenants who claimed to hold by feigned and collusive leases. He asked for, and obtained, the appointment of two serjeants of law to take evidence as to their validity. Two grounds could be offered for declaring leases void: that they had been made within a year of the surrender of the house or that they were intended to defraud the crown.[16] At the hearing at Skipton on 28 August 1540, the accusation was made that 17 former tenants of the house, all within Craven, held by collusive leases. Six tenants appeared and voluntarily surrendered their leases before the tribunal, acknowledging them to be void on both grounds. A seventh tenant appeared and declared he held nothing by lease and four more failed to appear. William and Christopher Clark, the lessees of the tithes of West Halton by a lease which Augmentations had previously exemplified, appeared and maintained their claims. At this point the commissioners called before them the quondam prior, Richard Moone, and five of his pensioned canons, who testified that the tithes had been occupied by the priory up to the day of the dissolution, the lease notwithstanding, and that the lease itself had been granted on the understanding that it would be void if the house survived. Thomas Wilkes and John Hill, who had a lease of the parsonage and a part of Kildwick tithes, were than called. They too attempted to maintain their rights under the lease, but the late prior and canons offered their evidence as before. Finally the lessees of the tithes of Cowling were called and they too appear (the manuscript becomes hard to follow) to have undergone the same bruising experience.[17]

The experience of these lessees is unusual: Augmentations was normally willing to allow leases of dubious weight to stand without impeachment. The earl's actions must be seen as a private initiative by a ruthless, and hypocritical individual who had secured leases on exactly the same terms as those he wished to dispossess. Assuming, of course, that Moone and the canons were not perjuring themselves on Cumberland's behalf, the evidence suggests the following scenario. In the spring of 1538 the prior and convent agreed to acceed to the requests for leases by a minority of tenants who felt sufficiently nervous of the future to ask for one, on the condition that the leases would be offered back if the house remained. This offer was accepted by a few tenants, notably in

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14. Below App. 1 nos. 5-10.
15. Below App. 1 nos. 30, 43.
16. Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries* pp. 113-4.
17. E315/108 nos. 103-4. The Clarks had paid a fine of £5 for their lease, which they had surrendered for a grant from Augmentations the previous December, below App. 1 no. 23; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* XV p. 560.

Appletreewick, where the earl was sufficiently worried to take a general lease of the lordship in the name of his son in June. At much the same time the priory decided to accept offers for its tithes. Again the earl intervened to protect his interests by securing a lease for himself. Finally he had his brother and son appointed steward. The granting of leases to tenants was obviously not to the earl's advantage and in 1540 he cleared them away by a strict application of the law.

Yet no challenge was made to the leases granted of the further flung sections of the monastic estates. It is difficult to know what to make of these leases. There is no evidence to suggest that they were made on the conditions of the tenant leases in Craven: perhaps they are rewards to predatory gentry. Particular reference should though be made to the lease of lands in Weeton where a Wetherby yeoman paid a fine in the form of money lent to the priory in 'their time of need'.[18] Whether similar considerations came into play with the others it is impossible to say.

At Fountains we have not only the advantage of the sizeable body of material contained within the lease book supplemented by Appendix two below, but in addition, there is the examination of the last abbot, Marmaduke Bradley, made in January 1541 when Augmentations came to enquire into the leasing policy of the house.[19] It quickly becomes plain that the policies pursued by the two houses were very different, although both made collusive leases.

Michelmore has described the system of transhumance practiced by Fountains whereby their sheep flocks were moved from winter pastures about the house to hill pastures above Malham. This lay at the heart of the monastic economy, but when Fountains was surveyed in September 1540, the commissioners found that one Henry Norton gent claimed to hold Fountains Park and Fountains Fell by lease. Norton's role as the abbey's nominee has until this time been entirely unsuspected. In November 1538 he had a grant of the office of general receiver and surveyor with a fee of £10 and various perquisites.[20] This appears to have been a post held in the past by a member of the convent. Between then and Christmas he had a lease for 40 years – fully described in the abbot's examination but unrecorded in the lease book – of Fountains Park, Fountains Fell and Cowside on Malham Moor at a rent of £40.[21] According to the abbot's testimony, it was agreed when the lease was delivered that if the house was not dissolved, Norton would surrender the lease. Furthermore, the abbot reported that Norton never took possession of the land while the abbey survived. When he came to pay his rent in 1539, he paid over the rents he had collected from the Malham Moor tenants but had an allowance for the cattle grazing on Fountains Fell. The lease was thus held in suspension until the dissolution of the house. Another lease which shares some of the same charac-teristics as that to Norton might be noticed. On 1 July 1538 Christopher Lindley, a gentleman of Leathley in Wharfedale, was appointed steward of courts in Yorkshire (except Craven) and auditor of stock: the same day he had a lease for 40 years of Malham Moor (called by Michelmore 'probably the abbey's most important summer pasture') and the reversion of a tenement in Rigton, with a reserved rent of 16*s* 4*d*. Given that the tenement in Rigton had been previously rented at 16*s* 3*d*, the abbey's grazing on

18. Below App. 2 no. 35.
19. E321/39/3. The circumstances in which the examination was made are unclear, but given that the Fountain's estate was sold to Richard Gresham in September 1540, it may be evidence taken in pleadings between Gresham and the tenants of the house. The examination is a draft with innumerable emendations and amplifications. The examination was unknown to Mr. Michelmore when he published the Fountains lease book.
20. Below App. 2 no. 20.
21. E321/39/3. I have not discovered the text of the lease. Bradley states that it was made about Christmas, but the other leases he dates to this time were in fact made during the summer of 1538. The date of his appointment as receiver is however, certain. Fountains Fell was understood to include the abbey's tenements on Malham Moor.

Malham Moor came almost entirely free.[22]

Norton was certainly a trusted servant of the house: the abbot speaks of Norton's 'love and favour' towards the monks, and the same must surely be true of Lindley.[23] It is difficult though to see what advantage making the leases brought the house. The grant of the pastures might keep them out of the immediate possession of the king, but could do nothing to further the continuance of the house. Indeed, it is difficult to see them as anything other than a calculated share-out of some of the assets of the house amongst those gentry who had acted as the convent's friends, in short, a bequest made in the expectation of dissolution.

Yet when he was taxed about his leases of the granges of the house and other tenements, Bradley was adamant that these leases had been made without any such conditions. In his examination, the quondam abbot was asked whether he had made leases to two groups of persons: to the farmers of granges about the house and to tenants in Craven and elsewhere. In both cases he drew a distinction between the leases issued about three years before the house's dissolution and those given about Christmas 1538. Bradley was interrogated in London and was clearly working from recollection and without access to documents. When his examination is compared with the evidence of the lease book, it becomes apparent that his sense of chronology was flawed.

The lease book, supplemented by the additional materials collected by Michelmore and myself, is therefore the best guide to Bradley's actions. During 1536 and 1537 relatively few leases were granted by Fountains, but from April to August 1538 and then again at the end of the year the house actively issued new terms. It was during the summer that the house leased (for the first time) its demesne farms (although Bradley dates this innovation to about Christmas 1538) and made its lease to Lindley and perhaps Norton. Elsewhere Bradley told his examiners that at about Christmas he and the convent were frightened of their imminent dissolution and that it was for this reason that they made their grants. On the other hand Bradley recalled that he was inclined to have leased the granges at about this time and he insisted that the tenants had paid fines, although he was unaware how much as the fines had been parcelled amongst the convent. He was adamant that the leases had been made without thought of fraud.

There is a clear chronological coincidence between the commencement of leasing at Bolton and Fountains. (At the same moment Bolton began to dismember its estates through the granting of annuities).[24] But, where at Bolton the evidence of the documents seemed to point towards leases being granted at the request of tenants, at Fountains the initiative seems to have been taken by the convent. After August few leases were granted: five in December and three in January 1539: the convent seal seems to have lain unused between then and the surrender of the house in December of that year. But again, like Bolton, the process of leasing seems to have been unco-ordinated and unsystematic. The numbers of leases granted is very small and the leases themselves are scattered all over the estates. A few gentry took leases of parcels of the estates (for instance Thomas Burton of Ingerthorpe and Sir William Mallory who took a lease of all Aldfield and Galphay),[25] but the records offer no suggestion of a general stampede to secure leases either by sitting tenants or local gentry. Even sitting leaseholding tenants whose terms were nearing their end were rarely tempted to take a new lease. The lack of any leasemaking during most

22. *FLB* 241, 243; p. xxxiv. Lindley's fee was reduced, *ibid* no. 243n; his lease was not mentioned in the 1541 examination.
23. Norton was probably the younger son of Sir John Norton of Norton Conyers: J. W. Clay (ed.), *Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire with Additions* (3 vols, 1894-1917), ii p. 72.
24. See below p. 134.
25. *FLB* 282; below App. 2 no. 2. With regard to this second lease, it is worth noticing that four tenants took leases in Aldfield in December 1538 (*FLB* 256, 259, 267, 270): one wonders, pace Clifford's lease in Appletreewick, if Mallory's lease was an attempt to prevent further terms being granted?

of 1539 perhaps tells us that finally, there was little interest amongst any of these parties to strengthen their hand against the king.

If only a limited number of leases were made after 1536, and then on the initiative of the tenants as much as the monastic house itself, why were leases made before 1536 and to what end? The answer is not immediately self-evident. Whilst both Bolton and Fountains made leases in the preceding quarter-century, there are important differences in the numbers and recipients of the leases. At Bolton, leases were granted infrequently, and where they were, the lessees (almost without exception) were the gentle tenants of properties some distance from the main estates. So, the Aske brothers had leases of the mansion house in Bishophill in York and of the Holderness estates of the house.[26] This was in effect a means of transferring the responsibility for the management of distant properties to men able to undertake it with greater ease than the monks themselves. Yet practically no tenants of peasant status held by lease on any part of the estates. At Fountains the very size of the leasebook is testimony to the frequency with which the monastery made leases, and these instruments were offered to a wide range of tenants, many of unexceptional social status or wealth, who held only single messuages. On the other hand, Fountains was not in the habit of making leases of portfolios of properties to gentry. At both houses, leases were made for comparatively short terms.

In trying to establish why leases were made, it is important to acknowledge that certain sorts of property could not be held by court roll. For entirely practical reasons, properties which lay outside the manorial system, single urban messuages, tithes or whole manors, could only be held by lease. Besides this, in legal theory, lands which had once had a different status, for instance as demesne lands, the lands of granges, or as waste, could never achieve customary status and so could not be held by court roll. The problem is, however, that the principle which forbade the holding of ex-demesne land by copy was frequently disregarded in the sixteenth century. The tenants of the grange at Kildwick all held their lands from Bolton by copy of court roll. At Fountains the tenants of the New Close in Wheldrake, the very name suggesting its recent origins, also held the premises by copy.[27]

The problem of understanding why Fountains but not Bolton chose to regulate its dealings with tenants through the medium of leases is further complicated by the fact that we know practically nothing of the numbers of Fountains' tenants who held messuages by copyhold. It is of course possible to infer that all tenants who did not possess a lease had a copy, but this is finally an unsafe assumption.[28] Where we do have information, however, we find copyholders as at Litton, Bewerley, Wheldrake and Aldburgh:[29] but in the absence of the court rolls, the leases must speak for themselves.

Despite the number of extant leases, it is clear that the tenants who held from Fountains by lease were in a minority. At Malham the rental of 1495-6 lists 17 tenements excluding the mill but there is evidence of only eight leases, of which two are of the same tenement. On Malham Moor, the rental lists 19 tenements but there are only nine leases in the lease book. At Kilnsey seven tenements (and two tenants sharing the mill) are named in 1495-6 but only one lease was engrossed in the lease book before 1536. In the manor of Litton, including Litton itself and the dependant hamlets of Halton Gill and

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26. Below App. 2 no. 36; *BPR* p. 50n.
27. *BPR* pp. 43-4, below App. 2 nos. 16-17.
28. The 1495-6 rental refers to tenants holding for 'a term of years', but this is not forced to imply that they held by lease: it may equally mean that they held by copy for life and so stand in distinction from tenancies at will. The rental does not distinguish between copyholders and leaseholders and unfortunately the lease book contains no instruments predating the rental against which it might be compared. D. J. H. Michelmore (ed.), *The Fountains Abbey Rental* (1974) passim.
29. Litton, see Hoyle, 'Land and Landed Relations' pp. 75-6, Bewerley and Wheldrake, below App. 2 nos. 15-17, Aldburgh, *FLB* 278.

Foxup, of 24 tenants, only five took leases before 1527 and one was probably leased anew in that year. Elsewhere, at Aldburgh, of 18 tenements in 1495-6 only six were leased. The possession of a lease was therefore unusual.

The leases themselves also come in a myriad of forms. Michelmore commented on the verbosity of the leases: there is certainly a striking lack of common form. There is no better illustration of this than the two leases of moieties of Tranhouse on Malham Moor granted on the same day in 1514.[30] The same irregularity can be seen in the dates on which leases were granted. At Malham leases were granted in 1492, 1511, 1515, 1520, 1521 (two within a fortnight), 1530 and 1535. On Malham Moor leases were issued in 1506, 1507, 1514 (two), 1516, 1525 (two, to the same man) and 1531. There is little sign of a system here, nor in the terms which the leases conferred. At Malham, leases were granted for 20 years (two), 24 years (two), 30 years (two), 40 years and for life. The six Litton leases were granted for terms of 12, 15, 20, 30, 40 and 45 years. So not only did a minority of men hold by lease, but those who did held by leases drawn to different forms, granted at different times, for different terms.

If we consider the dates at which leases were granted and their terms, then we find in Litton that of the five tenements leased before 1509 and 1526, tenements went out of lease in 1521 and 1533 without new grants being made (although both were entered into the lease book, made c.1533) and two more were at the very extremity of their terms in 1539-40, but were not renewed. The only tenement leased in Litton on the eve of the house's surrender had previously been leased in 1511 for 40 years and was leased again in 1537 for 45 years.[31] Of the eight indentures of lease for Malham in the lease book, one expired in 1527 and was not renewed, three more were to expire in 1540 or 1541 and the others in 1545, but not one tenant bothered to take a new lease after the shape of the crown's attack on the monasteries became apparent. The same is true on Malham Moor. There is no sign that either monks or tenants saw the end of a term as the moment when a new lease should be taken. On the contrary, tenants allowed their terms to expire without taking new leases and the compiler of the lease book was happy to enter into it leases which had either ended or which were nearing their end.

Fountains' leasing policy was first and foremost unsystematic and irregular with no visible attempt to lease all messuages or to offer regular terms or indentures. As with the leasing of messuages if the very last years of the house it appears that the granting of leases served the needs of the tenants rather than the monks; given that Bolton issued practically no leases to tenants, it is certainly impossible to argue that the granting of leases was an essential part of monastic estate management save for those tenements which lay outside the structures of a manor.

In attempting to understand why tenants should have wished to take leases, we have only the evidence of the leases themselves. Excluding leases to gentry, those appointing keepers of granges and all leases made after 1536, 73 Fountains leases are available for analysis, dating mainly from the period after 1510. Unfortunately it is rarely possible to see successive leases of the same tenement, although this should occasion no surprise given the chronological shallowness of our evidence and the relative length of the leases. Whilst it could be possible to offer an analysis by date of grant and term, in attempting to understand what purposes a lease served it is more profitable to divide them according to the character of the lessee(s) and their relationship to the previous tenant. When this is done, four categories of lease (a-d) appear together with a residue of unassignable leases. The first (a) are those where an existing tenant took a lease of premises already in his hands (8 cases), the second (b) where the incoming tenant was the son or heir of the previous tenant (although the relationship often has to be inferred).

30. *FLB* p. xx, nos. 54-5.
31. The identification of the two leases as referring to the same tenement is tentative (*FLB* 25ln).

Fourteen leases of this sort can be found, including one in which a son took a moiety of his father's tenement during the latter's life and another where the son took the reversion of his father's tenement. Where the previous tenant had died, it is impossible to tell how soon after his death the lease was made. If we envisage that the father held by a lease for life or by a copy, then the term expired on his death and a new lease (or copy) would be needed to secure the heir's possession of the tenement.

The leases in the first two categories (a and b) are straightforward, although together they comprise less than one third of all leases. More complicated in their intention are those leases (c), (29 cases, two-fifths of the whole), which were granted to a tenant in possession and his son or other heir, the usual combination being father and son, more occasionally the widow of a tenant and son. At first sight these leases appear to be conveying terms of years of irregular length, but in fact the majority of the leases are for the lives of the named grantees. In 19 cases the terms are specifically voided at the death of the surviving lessee if that happens within the overall term. These leases appear to favour the tenants' interests in securing the inheritance of the premises by a member of the next generation whilst the monastery protected its interest by granting a lease to a specific son and making it necessary for a new lease to be taken at his death. The prudent tenant who held a lease jointly with his father doubtless saw it as desirable to protect the interest of his family by taking a further lease jointly with his heir before the expiry of the first. The general principle can be illustrated in one of the few cases where we have successive leases of the same premises. In 1495 the tenant of the grange of Nutwithcote in Masham parish, Richard Beckwith, together with his wife and their son Richard, had a lease of Nutwithcote and a grange called Thwaite House for 48 years, but to be void when all were dead. In 1537 Richard younger had a further lease, again for 48 years, to the use of himself, his wife and his son Christopher, again with a clause voiding the lease on the death of all the lessees.[32]

The characteristic form of the leases in categories a-c is that they were made to individuals who were in possession of a tenement. The fourth Category (d) contains 22 instances[33] where leases were granted to a tenant who was apparently unrelated to the previous occupiers of the lands, except, in a few cases, by marriage to the daughter of the previous tenant.[34] These then are leases which marked a change of lineage of the occupiers. They take two forms. The first are those leases in which the lessee is given immediate possession of a tenement late the property of another. The second category (of which there are eight instances) is that in which the reversion of a tenement is leased, to take effect from the death of the sitting occupant. The appearance is that in the first category of leases, the previous tenant was dead and the tenement was standing empty, while the grants in reversion are made because the tenant in occupation had rights in the tenement by virtue of a tenancy for life, (although whether this took the form of a copy or a lease can only ever be guessed at[35]) but had no male children who could be expected to inherit his customary rights in the tenement. So, a lease of lands in Rainton in the possession of John Darnbrook was made to Henry Young on the strict condition that Young could not enter until Darnbrook's death. We have no clue as to the terms by

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32. *FLB* 156, 257.
33. This excludes *FLB* 33 (where a lease was granted to the second husband of the late tenant's wife for the minority of the heir) and *ibid* 276 (a lease of offices and lands within the abbey precincts).
34. Cf *FLB* 145, 172-3.
35. A late lease of 1537 (*FLB* 266) was made in reversion of a term granted by copy of court roll, but there is the complication that the tenant before the sitting tenant was the reversioner's father. It is possible to envisage that the reversioner's father had died prematurely, that the sitting tenant had married his widow and had been granted the tenement during the minority of his step son, who now takes a lease in reversion from the end of that term. (Cf no. 33). Other reversionary leases were granted from the end of leasehold terms (*ibid* 104, 121). The rights of widows had also to be respected (*ibid* 122).

which Darnbrook held.[36]

Given the demographic crisis of the fifteenth century, it is hardly surprising that many families were failing in the male line and their lands were becoming available to others. On the Clifford estates in Craven in the sixteenth century, the estate almost invariably acknowledged the right of male children to inherit their father's tenements but the reversions of the tenements of childless men (or in some cases men with daughters alone) were considered to be at the disposal of the estate and were actively sought by predatory and unrelated landless men.[37] The parallel with what appears to be happening at Fountains is obvious enough: that tenants with children could obtain leases to protect their interest while the tenements of those without children were liable to be granted to strangers either in reversion or after their deaths.

While vacancy, or the promise of vacancy, forms a reasonable justification for the granting of these leases, there are also hints that they were used to dispossess tenants. In the case of a Knapton lease, a tenement said to have been late in the holding of John Webster was granted to Richard Holgate in 1524. This falls firmly into the first category: but Michelmore was able to show that Webster was not only alive but appeared to pay the rent for the premises in 1525 and 1527.[38] Unfortunately we have no clue as to what rights of Webster's were removed by the lease to Holgate. The use of the lease to dispossess can be shown in a case of a lease in reversion granted in Sleningford in 1526.[39] Here a tenement in the occupation of Thomas Steel and William Plain was let to Thomas Plain for 20 years from Thomas Steel's death. The relationship between William Plain and Thomas Plain is not revealed: it is reasonable to assume that Thomas Plain was taking a reversionary lease of a single tenement which previously had been held jointly by his father and Thomas Steel because Steel was childless. But in 1535 or there after, Thomas Plain complained to Star Chamber that he had been evicted from his half tenement by Christopher Steel of Sleningford and others. Steel's defence was that he had a customary title to the premises: that he had been admitted as tenant by the homage of the manorial court (i.e. he was a copyholder) and he held for life. The correct interpretation to be placed on these events would seem to be that the older generation had half each of a single tenement. The son of one tenant, perhaps after his father's death, obtained a reversionary lease to the whole over the head of the other tenant's son, who held by copy of court roll. Unfortunately no further pleadings are known, but one would have expected Plain to have cited his lease in subsequent pleadings and the issue to be become one of whether a lease took precedence over a customary tenancy.

As we saw, in the eyes of early sixteenth-century lawyers it almost certainly did. And here lies the beauty of the lease and the opportunities it offered for the oppression of individual tenants. It can be taken that the majority of Fountains' tenants held by copy: their heirs, not only a male child but in his absence perhaps a daughter, a cousin or a more distant relative, possessed a customary right of inheritance in the premises which would be acknowledged by the manorial court. But that right could be superseded by the granting of a lease. The lease could not take away the life interest of the sitting tenant. Where a tenant was childless, the grant of a lease in reversion denied any claims that more distant relatives might wish to make – or might be used to select one tenant from several competitors. It could also, however, deprive the heir of a tenant of his rights as appears to have happened to Christopher Steel. There were two ways in which a man

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36. *FLB* 128.
37. Hoyle, 'Land and Landed Relations' pp. 112-118.
38. *FLB* 110.
39. The following account is based on *FLB* 174 and J. Lister (ed.), 'Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings' iv, *YASRS* 70 (1927) pp. 68-9.

in Steel's position could defend himself. He could take a lease in his own name before another party could do so; or after the other party had entered, he could attempt to compound with them or seek his restitution by injunction out of one of the equity courts.

In the absence of fuller documentation or more instances of litigation we cannot tell how often such dispossessing leases were made, but it seems likely that most of the change of lineage leases noticed previously had the consequence of dispossessing someone, though not necessarily a son. The fact that a sitting copyhold tenant could have his tenement leased over his head to a stranger must have had a profoundly unsettling effect on Fountains' tenant community. Its first and most logical consequence must have been that it became advantageous for Fountains' tenants to secure their rights by negotiating with the monastery for a lease to ensure the inheritance of their own children, which they did with the grants spanning two generations which we described before.

Leasehold thus served a dual purpose. Not only was it the means by which the monks regulated the possession of some of their lands, it was also the instrument of peasant inheritance, but one which it was in the hands of the abbey to bestow. If we envisage the leases being taken by individual tenants at their request and by negotiation, then the irregularity in the terms of the leases may be nothing more than a reflection of the period needed before the tenant of the next generation reached his maturity and needed himself to negotiate a new indenture. Nonetheless, the lease was still potentially a device by which the tenants could be oppressed. The case of Plain v Steel goes someway to explaining the anxiety expressed by the Pilgrims of Grace in their Pontefract articles who, it will be recalled, asked that tenant right be preserved on monastic lands over a wide area of the North (but including Mashamshire, Kirkbyshire and Nidderdale) with fines of no more than two years' rent.[40] Plain v Steel shows how a tenant could be dispossessed by a lease. A Byland tenant from Gouthwaite in Nidderdale petitioned Star Chamber in or immediately after 1528 complaining that he had been ejected from his late father's messuage. This tenant declared that he had offered to pay the customary fine of a quarter years' rent, but this had been refused by the abbot of Byland and after arbitration by the abbot of Coverham, a fine of two years' rent had been agreed upon. Despite this, the abbot had made a lease of the tenement to Roger Lascelles who had evicted the tenant.[41]

These cases share the common feature that the customary right of a tenant was terminated by the granting of a lease. It is impossible to say whether leases were granted on the Fountains' estate with a pecuniary object. The few instances of fines available from the lease book allow no clear conclusions to be drawn. It is noticeable though that the one recorded fine of excessive value was taken on a lease in reversion of a quarter of Dacre lodge in 1531 where the incoming tenant was unrelated to the old tenant.[42] This type of lease, where the hereditary claims of the old tenants were absent or could be ignored, may well have attracted a premium fine as it did on the Clifford estates.[43] The Gouthwaite lease may well have been made with no higher purpose than to make an example of a vexatious tenant. But the danger was there, and it is to instances of this sort that the complaint of the Pilgrims refers.

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40. M. H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-7 and the Exeter Conspiracy 1538* (2 vols, 1915), I p. 369. For Tenant Right, see R. W. Hoyle, 'An Ancient and Laudable Custom', *Past and Present* 116 (1987). The phrase 'tenant right' is used of copyhold in Nidderdale in a case of 1533-8 in which a tenant of Byland's at Ramsgill claimed the tenant right of a messuage to which he had been admitted by the manorial court. J. S. Purvis (ed.), 'Monastic Chancery Proceedings [for] Yorkshire', *YASRS* 88 (1934) pp. 29-30 (printing C1/734 no.1).
41. W. Brown (ed.), 'Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings' iii, *YASRS* 51 (1914) pp. 158-161.
42. *FLB* pp. xxxix-xliii, no. 219.
43. Hoyle, 'Land and Landed Relations' pp. 84-8.

Historians have perhaps paid too much attention to the lease. They are often easy to use, in English, rich in coincidental detail, and they are often given a special place in studies of estate management. For the sixteenth-century administrator they were a flexible device which could be used to suit a number of quite different circumstances. They were made outside the constraints of the manorial court. They could be loaded with covenants or carefully calculated obligations. Moreover, they gave a quite different quality of security to the tenant than a copy of court roll and the unscrupulous could use the lease to terrorise their tenants. But, it is impossible to understand the use made of the lease without acknowledging the advantages that it brought tenants. It was to the tenant's advantage to turn towards the lease, not only to improve his own security but to perpetuate his name on the land. Enough has perhaps been said to show that leases are not simple instruments, but encapsulate the differing needs of lords and tenants in ways which at this distance, with an imperfect knowledge, it is often difficult to grasp.

APPENDIX ONE

ABSTRACTS OF UNPUBLISHED BOLTON PRIORY LEASES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS FROM THE AUGMENTATIONS ARCHIVE.

Inevitably the abstracts which follow in appendices one and two are not as detailed as might be considered desirable and are certainly less full than those offered by Michelmore in the *Fountains Lease Book*. No physical description of the individual manuscripts is offered: references to E303 are to original counterparts and those to E315/92-105 and LR1/174-5 are to enrolments or transcripts. Endorsements have been noticed only when they add to the content of the manuscript. Most of the counterparts in E303 bear seal tabs, but few are signed. All leases are from the abbot or prior and convent unless otherwise stated. Clauses concerning days of payment, distraint, obligation to attend courts and the apportioning of responsibilities for repairs are not noticed. All surnames have been modernised, likewise major placenames, but placenames below the status of the township have been reproduced exactly. Crown-copyright material in the Public Record Office is reproduced by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

i LEASES OF LANDS.

The Precincts and locality of the house.

(1) 26 February [1527]. Lease for their lives to George West and Jane his wife of a place or farm within the precincts of the monastery called the Calgarth House, with all closes belonging and also one close annexed unto the hynde house besides the laithes, and also one close called the Mylne Busshes, to hold for their lives and longer liver. If George dies before his wife, she to occupy the premises during her life, but not to remarry without the consent of the prior and convent. To have yearly 120 horse loads of wood and 120 horse loads of *kyddes* or faggots with special favour for his fuel, the said fuel to be taken yearly upon the hagg or spring where the prior and convent take their fuel, paying yearly 20*d*. Agreed that George and Jane can win more 'eldyng' or fuel for the keeping of the house, to be taken in the pits upon the Ridding More and backside of Harehed or within 100 feet of the pits, or if that insufficient, to have reasonable assignment. To have right of entry to dry and carry away the fuel. To have no cattle within the ground of the monastery but only within the ground which belongs to this bargain.
Rent 24*s*. Fine £10.
LR1/175 fo. 151r, followed by a note that the premises were then held by Robert Moyse (see 3 below).

(2) 10 March [1538]. Lease for 41 years to Christopher Stirke, and Thomas his son, of a tenement called Hawehouse now in the occupation of Christopher Stirke, with the tithe hay and tithe straw of the tithe corn growing on the premises and in the hamlet and fields of Berwick. Agreed that the prior and convent

shall have kept on the farmhold 50 kine [cows] and a bull at their pleasure, half with calves and the other half to be geld; that the lessees shall yearly deliver to the prior and convent 50 stones of cheese, 25 stones butter and 24 stirks, price each stirk 3*s* 4*d*, in payment of the rent of £6 6*s* 7*d*, to be delivered on the accustomed days. If any stirk was thought not to be worth 3*s* 4*d*, then the prior and convent to appoint four indifferent men to appraise the stirk's value. If any found under value, then the lessees to make them to be of value. That the tenants to give the prior and convent first option on all butter and cheese after the price of 9*d* a stone for butter and 7*d* a stone for cheese. Covenanted that when any part of the Lobwood, parcel of the tenement, shall be fenced in order to be springed, the said prior and convent are to take back animals from the lessees, so if a quarter of Lobwood were springed, to take from them one cow with a calf, a geld cow and 6 stirks and to rebate 2 stones of cheese and 1 stone of butter. If the stock withdrawn, then the lessees to pay the full rent. The lessees to have sufficient hollin for their cattle and for burning [*brynnyg*].
Rent £6 7*s* 7*d*, less deductions as described, fine £5.
E303/22 no. 17; LR1/175 fo. 93r. *BPR* p. 52.

(3) 12 April [1538]. Lease for 41 years to Robert Moyse and Jane his wife, of one farmhold called the Calgarthhouse and all closes lying within the 'mantell' walls of the monastery and precinct of the same unto the water of Wharfe (rent 13*s* 4*d*), with also one close called Wren Park (6*s* 8*d*), close called Hyndehouse croft (6*s* 8*d*), parcel called Mylne busshes (2*s*) and 1 close called Sandy Home (10*s*). Lessees to have sufficient firewood for their house during the term making no waste in Lobwood, Northwood, Westybankes or elsewhere within the demesnes of Bolton, paying 20*d* for the same. To 'grave ther more eldyng upon the more called Harehede' if they be disposed to get any and to lead the same at his or their pleasure. To have timber for repairs with sufficient *garssell* for hedging to be taken at Burtreclose or elsewhere within the woods aforesaid, but to pay the costs of workmen. To have fallen wood and topple of felled wood within the farmhold and closes.
Rent 38*s* 8*d*.
E303/22 no. 18. *BPR* p. 26.

(4) 15 December [1538]. Lease for 21 years to John Astley, of a messuage called the Barkehouse and all other houses etc to the same belonging, now in his possession, in Bolton near the monastery or priory; also the bark of all woods as shall fortune to be fallen yearly within the woods at Bolton, Lobwood, Graunge Wood in the parish of Kildwick and elsewhere in Craven, with sufficient wood from Lobwood or other woods at Bolton at the delivery of the keeper to dry the bark of Astley as he shall occupy at the Bark House. In addition has a lease of a close called Thistell hyll in Bolton where the lessee is to get his hay for the keeping of his horses in summer and another close near the Bolton loynes called Beke cloyse for pasture and herbage for his horses in summer.
Rent 26*s* 8*d*, fine 'a certain sum'.
Ibid no. 48. *BPR* p. 26.

Appletreewick

(5) 9 April [1538]. Lease for 61 years to Anthony Young of Appletreewick of the corn mill of Appletreewick, with all multure etc (40*s*), with parcels in the town and town fields of Appletreewick late in the holding of Henry Young his father (20*s*) and a tenement in Appletreewick late in the tenure of Miles Crofts (10*s*).
Rent [£3 10*s*].
Ibid no. 37.

(6) 1 May [1538]. Lease for 44 years to John Hebden and Alice his wife, of a farmhold in the lordship of Appletreewick called Grymwith house late in the tenure of William Hebden his father. Covenant that whenever the prior and convent have any cattle kept at the farmhold as has been accustomed, then John and Alice or their assigns to occupy the farmhold without any 'peny rent paying' but only their service done in keeping the said cattle to the use of the prior and convent or their successors. Covenant that Margaret Hebden mother of John is to hold half the tenement during her life, paying her share of all duties.
Rent 21*s* 4*d*.
Ibid no. 38. *BPR* p. 48.

(7) 1 May [1538]. Lease for 41 years to William Inman and John Inman of Gatophouse, of a farmhold in the lordship of Appletreewick called Gatophouse in their holding.
Rent 32*s*.
Ibid no. 43. *BPR* p. 43.

(8) 4 May [1538]. Lease for 41 years to John Heles of Skyrom, of one tenement or farmhold in the lordship

of Appletreewick late in the holding of John Heles lately deceased, his father. To have timber for repairs.
Rent 23*s* 4*d*.
Ibid no. 36. *BPR* p. 49.

(9) 4 May [1538]. Lease for 41 years to William Croft of Nurssehouse, of one farmhold in the lordship of Appletreewick called Nurssehouse.
Rent 26*s* 8*d*.
Ibid no. 49. *BPR* p. 48.

(10) 21 June [1538]. Lease for 61 years to Ingram Clifford son of the [first] earl of Cumberland, of all the priory's manor or lordship of Appletreewick in Craven with all appurtenances (including mineral rights). Proviso [added at the end after the sealing clause] that nothing to be prejudicial to the lease of Anthony Young of the mill and certain grounds (5 above).
Rent £16 12*s* 6*d*.
Ibid no. 50. Not in *BPR*.

Cononley

(11) 14 July [1532]. Lease for 20 years to Christopher Aske esq, of all the wastes and moors of the manor or lordship of Cononley with all mines which are or shall happen to be found there, with licence to dig and erect mines for 20 years. Aske covenants to pay a tithe of ore to the convent 'as to the church belongeth': if he finds enough lead to cover his costs, then he agrees to give the prior and convent yearly one hogshead of gascon wine [*Gascigne wyne*] in the name of a farm for the occupation of the wastes. Covenant that the lease conveys no common of pasture. Aske to set on workmen as shortly as he can to prove the ground.
Ibid no. 22.

(12) 16 March [1537]. Lease for lives to William Young and Janet his wife, and James Young their son, of a messuage in Cononley with lands now in the holding of Peter Jenkinson, which was sometime in the holding of Richard Brown grandfather to Janet Young. To hold to William, Janet and James for the life of the longest lived. Covenant that the lessees not to interrupt Peter Jenkinson in his possession during his natural life.
Rent 17*s*.
Ibid no. 31.

(13) 16 September [1538]. Lease for 40 years to Edmond Moyne and Allan his son, of a tenement in Cononley now in the holding of Edmond with all lands (rent 11*s* 6*d*). Further demise to them of the tithe corn of the town or hamlet of Barwyk and the townfields of the same (rent 26*s* 8*d*), also one close adjoining Morley Beck called Havenflat (13*s* 4*d*) and another parcel in the townfields of Hawton [Halton East] called Hawton dales (6*s* 8*d*).
Rent [£2 18*s* 2*d*].
Ibid no. 25. *BPR* p. 45-6.

Embsay

(14) 2 October [1537]. Lease for 99 years couched as an agreement between Henry, [first] earl of Cumberland, and the prior and convent of Bolton; that the prior lets to the earl one tenement lying in the township of Embsey called Alderde House with all closes etc, and one parcel of their waste in Embsey as it lies bounded by meres and bounds running from a stone lying on Byrkbanke whereupon there is wrought by a mason 'an anlett of that oon syde, and a toonne and a bolte on the other', and from that stone to other stones so marked down Byrkbank to a stone lying on Brakanabanke and from that to a stone on the Sleyghtes and from that to a stone within the Aldacre thornes hedge and so after the same hedge against the west to the hedge and fence of the same farmhold called Alderd House. Licence for the prior to view the bounds as he wishes and make meres. Liberty for the earl to demand a new lease for 99 years at anytime during the term, which the prior and convent are bound to make within 20 days.
Rent £3.
Ibid no. 16. *BPR* p. 40.

Halton East

(15) 8 September [1538]. Lease for 40 years to Thomas Wainman of Reddynges of the farmhold called Reddynges with appurtenances, with the tithe of corn growing on the premises. Agreed that the convent shall have kept on the farmhold 40 kine and a bull at their pleasure and liberty, half with calves and the

other half to be geld. Wainman, his executors and assigns to deliver yearly 40 stones of cheese, 20 stones of butter and 20 stirks, price each 3*s* 4*d*, towards the payment of the rent. If any stirk thought by the prior and convent not to be worth 3*s* 4*d*, then the prior and convent or their successors to appoint four indifferent men to price the stirks and the lessee to make up the value of any which are found to fall short. Agreed that the lessee not to set any cheese or butter from the prior and convent, but they shall have the same if they be contented after the rate of 9*d* a stone for butter, 7*d* a stone for cheese. The lessee to serve and find to the prior and convent milk when required; the prior and convent to provide Wainman with sufficient [ ] drink as accustomed in place of the milk. If it fortune that the prior and convent at any time hereafter retain and take back the 40 kine, then Wainman to occupy the premises paying the full rent.
Rent £5 9*s*.
Ibid no. 28. *BPR* p. 30.

(16) 25 September [1538]. Lease for 30 years to Robert Dromonby and Ellin his wife, of half a farmhold called Hawton Grange and lands in the township and townfields of Halton on the Hill, now held by Christopher Dromonby. The lessees not to assign to any person above the degree of yeoman on pain of forfeiture.
Rent 26*s* 8*d*.
Ibid no. 41. *BPR* p. 29.

Kildwick

(17) 18 September [1538]. Lease for 37 years to Thomas Stirke of Storys, tenant to the prior, of their corn mill at Silsden now in the holding of Stirke and two corn mills at Kildwick now in the holding of Thomas Ellis, with all multure and soke. To maintain the mills and mill-dams in the condition he finds them at the sight of twelve sworn men of the lordship. Agrees to surrender his existing lease of the Nether Milne.
Rent 73*s* 4*d*.
LR1/175 fo. 172r. *BPR* p. 45.

Kildwick Tithes.

(18) 20 April [1538]. Lease for 60 years to Thomas Wilkes and John Hill younger of the parsonage of Kildwick with all tithe corn, hay, wool, lambs and all other tithes of the parish of Kildwick except all those which accustomed to be carried from any town or place to the tithe barns of Selesden, Graunge barne, the Brigbarne, Conondeley barne, excepting all tithes of the hamlets of Colling and Collynghede, and those due to the vicar of Kildwick.
Rent £10 3*s*.
E303/22 no. 44; E315/96 fo. 129v (which gives the name of the second lessee as Raphe Henderson). Original indenture, Bradford Archives Dept., 68D82/6/6/0/1. The exemptions are to acknowledge a lost lease to Henry, lord Clifford, 7 February 1538 (*BPR* pp. 58-9).

(19) 18 May [1538]. Lease for 41 years to William Tillotson and Miles Smith of the Somerhouse [tshp Cowling], of all the tithe corn belonging to the townships of Cowling, Ickornshaw and Scott Hill [sic] with all the corn growing on the farmholds of Thomas Blakey, Thomas Raikes, the farmhold of Starburge [sic] near the Newe Hall, the farmholds of Robert Leroyd, Hugh Barrett and with the tithe corn of a ground belonging to Malsis called Ravernswathe in Cowling.
Rent 4 marks.
E315/95 fo. 142v. *BPR* p. 59.

(20) 3 November [1538]. Lease for 70 years to Thomas Thornehill of Otley son of Edmund Thornehill of Otley, of the tithe barn commonly called the *Bryglath nygh Kyldweke brigge* at the south end of the bridge, with all tithe corn growing in the townships of Glusburn and Sutton and in the hamlets of Malsys and Redehous or such other townships where the tithe is accustomed to be led to the tithe barn, with all sums paid in lieu of tithe. To have liberty of passage through the garth in which the barn stands without the impediment of Nicholas Titterington or any other farmer of the garth. Binds himself in £40.
Rent 40*s*.
E303/22 no. 15, E315/100 fo. 270v. *BPR* pp. 58-9.

Tithes of Long Preston parish

(21) 8 June [1531]. Lease for 10 years to John Knolles and John Swinglehirst, reciting that the prior by indenture 10 June 20 Henry VIII [1528] had demised to Lawrence Hamerton gent the tithe barn of [Long] Preston and all tithe corn thereunto belonging, to hold from 10 June following for 10 years, for whose interest Knolles, Swinglehirst and 'their associates' have agreed with Hamerton; the prior leases

the tithe barn from the end of the previous term.
Rent £10.
E303/22 no. 24.

(22) 14 February [1536]. Lease by Richard prior of Bolton [without the convent] to William Marton gent, servant to the Queen's grace, of the tithe laithe of West Halton with all the tithe corn for the term of the prior's life, the prior to obtain for Marton the sanction of the convent seal. Agreed that the lessee to pay to the king's bailiffs ('baylzays') such 'cartan' of grain and corn as has been used and accustomed.
Rent 5 marks.
Ibid no. 39b.

(23) 22 June [1538]. Lease for 71 years to William Clarke and Christopher his son of the tithe corn of the township of West Halton. Note on the dorse that the lessees paid the prior and convent £5 for the goodwill of the premises.
Rent 4 marks.
Ibid no. 13.

Malhamdale

(24) 29 September [1538]. Lease for 60 years to John Lambert of Calton, of all the priory's manors, lands and appurtenances in Malham, Airton, Scothorpe and Otterburn or elsewhere in the parish of Kirkby Malham and a ground called Gildersflathowe in Hellifield (with names of tenants). Lambert bound in £100.
Rent £6 19*s* 8*d*. Fine £20.
Ibid no. 45; E315/96 fo. 136r. Gildersflat Hawe has remained unindentified, but a deed of 1638 (Leeds City Archives, DW 192) makes plain the coincidence with all or part of Wenningber in Hellifield township.

Martons Both

(25) 13 November [1525]. Lease for 12 years by Sir Richard Moon prior of Bolton [without the convent] to Robert Redman of Marton yeoman, of Marton Mill with appurtenances, which mill Christopher Styrk and [ ] Dixon did occupy before the making of this indenture. At Bolton.
Rent 13*s* 4*d*, fine 13*s* 4*d*.
Ibid no. 26.

(26) 26 December [1533]. Lease for 31 years to Hugh Bawdwen and Agnes his wife, of a house and farmhold in the parish of Marton called Ungthorpe (40*s*); also a tenement in the holding of Thomas Wilkinson for the term aforesaid, but into which they agree to enter only on the death of Thomas and Margaret his wife (13*s* 4*d*). If Hugh dies during the term, then Agnes his wife to have the tenement for her widowhood: if she remarries, then to remain to Anthony Bawdwen son of Hugh or his assigns. The tenant to leave the said farmhold tenantable at the end of the term.
Rent [53*s* 4*d*], fine (for Ungthorpe) £5 6*s* 8*d* and 40*s* for the convent seal.
Ibid no. 35. A paper copy of this indenture and later deeds of the premises can be found in Lancashire Record Office, DDBd/D3.

Rawdon

(27) 23 March [1529]. Lease for 30 years to Stephen Paslow gent, of their manor of Rawdon called the East Hall with appurtenances, now in the holding of Anthony Clifford esq. To be held to Stephen Paslow and his wife, and to the eldest son of Stephen by his wife if God sends him such issue and for default to George Paslow brother of Stephen. If his wife survives Stephen, she to have the term during her widowhood. If she remarries, to be excluded from occupation of the manor. Lessee to make repairs thought necessary by the prior and convent and Anthony Clifford, steward of the house [of Bolton], having timber delivered.
Rent £3.
Ibid no. 30. *BPR* pp. 51-2.

Skipton, Winterwell Hall

(28) 30 September [1521]. Lease to John Lambert elder, son of Thomas Lambert of Skipton, reciting that the prior and convent seeing the expenditure which John Lambert has made and intends to make in the repair and building of the Wynterwell Hall in Skipton, the inheritance of the monastery, lease of the hall

with a garden and orchard and two oxgangs of land in Skipton; and certain closes belonging to the same lying between Bentley Briggrane on the west and north and the king's highway and a burgage of John Weatherhird on the east side and a river called the Chapel Beck on the south side, and also a ground called Warley Rane, part enclosed and part not, as it lies between Ellerbeck and the west end of a flatt called the Walke Mylne Croft on the east part and the milne field on the west part and in breadth from Ellerbeck at the south end unto the oxgang land ends on the tenter flat in the said milne field on the north part, all which premises are now in the occupation of the said Thomas Lambert; to hold for 80 years after the death of Thomas Lambert and Johan his wife, father and mother of John Lambert elder who are tenants for life.
Rent 26*s* 8*d*, quit rent to lord Clifford 12*s*.
E315/52 no. 156. See also 46 and 47 below.

Tithes of Skipton Parish

(29) 20 March [1538]. Lease for 60 years to Lancelot Nesfield gent and John Lambert son and heir of Christopher Lambert of Skipton, of the parsonage of Skipton with all the tithe corn, hay, wool and lambs, all other tithes and oblations, *except* all tithe corn which accustomed to be carried to the tithe barns of Skipton, Stirton, Draughton, Embsey, Halton and Storithes, all the tithes and oblations accustomed to belong to the vicar of Skipton and the tithe corn of the Hawehouse, Ryddynges and Stedhouse.
Rent £4.
E303/22 no. 20. *BPR* p. 58.

(30) 21 June [1538]. Lease for 41 years to the first earl of Cumberland, of all their tithe barns and tithes of all manner of corn and sheaves in the towns of Skipton, Stirton and Thorleby in the parish of Skipton and in the towns and parishes of Carleton and Broughton. Covenant that where the prior has granted to Stephen Tempest all the tithe corn growing in his lands in Broughton, rent 16*s* 8*d*, agreed that the rent to be paid to Cumberland during his term.
Rent £29 13*s* 4*d*, with 13*s* 4*d* to the vicar of Carleton for the vicar of Carleton and 1 quarter of wheat, 2 quarters of oats and 1 quarter of brigg yearly to the vicar of Broughton.
Ibid no. 23. *BPR* p. 57.

Storithes and Hazlewood

(31) 9 June [1538]. Lease for 41 years to John Moon and Jane his wife, of a farmhold or tenement in Hazlewood in the hamlet of Beamsley. Covenant that the tenants licenced to pull down any houses or buildings built upon the messuage at their pleasure except the dwellinghouse and other necessary houses which they agree to maintain, the prior delivering sufficient timber.
Rent 15*s*.
Ibid no. 32. *BPR* p. 32.

(32) 1 November [1538]. Lease for 41 years to Humphrey Polson of a farmhold or tenement called Shepe Shawe and Bradeshawe, with all meadows etc, and with certain woods for his cattle and 'hedgeing', to be taken from Posforth Beke up to the middle of Shote Scarr hed and so to the wood *evys* adjoining to the Moorside as was set forth by four indifferent men, William Kendal, Nicholas Croft, William Ellison and Thomas Kitchin. Covenant that Humphrey shall not have any of his sheep or cattle within the woods, and not to allow them to eat his hollynfall or brog, but only after he has carried it to his own farmhold.
Rent 37*s* 4*d*.
Ibid no. 33. *BPR* p. 33.

Wentworth

(33) 29 April [1528]. Lease for 30 years to Thomas Wentworth of Strete gent, of the manor in Wentworth called the Freir Hows with appurtenances now in his holding and one other place called The Streyt with appurtenances. The lessee to have all free rents belonging to the prior and convent during the term except 4*s* of John Womwell and 3*s* of John Normavel. Lessor reserves the right to sell wood from the premises. If during the term mines of coal or ironstone be found within any of the lands, it shall be lawful for the prior and convent or successors to occupy the same. The lessee is forbidden to make subleases without licence, but to have a person to live at the tenement where Thomas dwells to watch over the woods. If the lessor decides to make any spring within the said 30 years then Thomas to make the spring garth at his own cost.
Rent £6 13*s* 4*d*.
LR1/175 fo. 89r.

(34) 15 January [1536]. Lease in reversion for 40 years to Michael Wentworth gent, after reciting the lease to Thomas Wentworth (33 above) of which term 23 years are yet to run, leases the manor called the Frerehouse [sic] and the place called the Strete, to commence at the determination of the previous lease. Liberty for the prior and convent to sell woods at will during the term and to have liberty to occupy and take any coal that might be found, but making allowance of rent for any trespasses. Lessee to have liberty to sublet, but his tenant to dwell at the Strete. Lessee to make the hedges around any spring which the prior and convent might make during the term.
Rent £6 13*s* 4*d*.
E303/22 no. 21; E315/100 fo. 274r.

Weeton

(35) 10 May [1538]. Lease for 70 years to Richard Wilkes of Wetherby yeo, of a tenement called Blackehall in Weeton township (£3) and a parcel of ground called Meggarth in Weeton (18*d*) with two closes called the Prior Flattes in Helthewayt (8*s*) and 2 acres called Holcar Inge, with pasture for his beasts in Holcar Buskys in Helthewayte, now in the occupation of Thomas Fletcher and Alexander Castleford; and 7½ acres of meadow in Wetton Fyttys (13*s* 4*d*) now in the occupation of Sir Percival Walker clerk, vicar of Harewood and Christopher Hebden; and a certain parcel of ground in Weste close in Weeton township in the occupation of Brian Gibson (10*s*).
Rent £4 12*s* 10*d*. Fine, 'a certain sum of money to them in their need by Richard paid'.
LR1/175 fo. 140v. *BPR* p. 36.

York

(36) 20 March [1535]. Lease for 99 years to John Aske of Aughton esq and Christopher Aske his brother, of the priory's mansion place in the city of York called Bisshophill with all appurtenances. Covenant that the prior and his brethern be allowed to have the house with all lodgings, chambers, stables etc at any time when they resort to York. Covenant protecting the interest of Elizabeth Paynter widow.
Rent 2*s*.
E303/22 no. 34.

ii COPIES OF COURT ROLLS

Kildwick

(37) At the court of Richard prior of Bolton held at Kildwick, 21 November [1531]. The widow of James Whitwham came and took one tenement late in her occupation, to hold for seven years. Proviso that John son of Henry Whitwham is to hold the tenement from the death of the widow or her remarriage, for which reversion he pays 32*s*. Pledges William Favell and Edward Garforth.
Rent 9*s* 8*d*, Fine 2*s*.
LR1/175 for. 145r.

(38) At the court of Richard prior of Bolton held at Kildwick, 21 January [1538]. Anthony Garforth came and took of the prior ½ that tenement now in the occupation of Edward Garforth his father, to hold in possession; and further took the other half to hold after the decease of Edward. Margaret wife of Edward to hold ½ the tenement for her widowhood and Johanna wife of Anthony to hold the other half during her widowhood. The prior grants that if Anthony dies, then the premises to be held to the use of Johanna, and Robert and William sons of Anthony and Johanna (Edward and Margaret being deceased) for a term of 21 years from the date of this grant. Witnessed by Richard prior of Bolton, Christopher Aske and John Lambert.
Fine 40*s* to be paid after the decease of Edward Garforth.
Ibid fo. 150r.

For the extant Kildwick Court Rolls of this period, see Yorks. Arch. Soc. Leeds, DD121/6/1.

iii GRANTS OF OFFICES

(39) 19 June [1528]. Grant to William Wall of the office of the portership, with all duties and customs belonging or as his predecessors had, for life. To have each week nine pounds of white bread with 8 loaves called 'gray lovys' and 7 gallons of ale of the 'better lyvaray fatt'. To be served from the kitchen or the celler with a measure of meat in as large and liberal manner as his predecessors have been. To have

yearly for wages 13*s* 4*d* and 3*s* 4*d* for 'toga' and for 'sowll sylver' 2*s*. His servant shall come to the frater and there he shall be rewarded as use and custom have been. The said William shall look upon all strangers and take and bring them to other officers within for the 'well' and the worship of the house. That he or his servant shall look upon the guest beds as has been accustomed and to look upon all men coming to the house and see that they are lodged according to their degrees. That he shall see that all the poor folks resorting to the said house for alms shall be served as custom has been. Covenanted between the parties that the grantee shall not have within the demesnes of the house either cow or horse without special licence, and he is forbidden to keep in the gatehouse his wife or any other woman unless he be aged and diseased and unable to help himself. That he to suffer no misrule or keep any suspect person. To demean himself amongst the prior and convent as honestly a servant should both in word and deed upon pain of forfeiting this indenture and his fine.
Fine £20.
E303/22 no. 29.

(40) 20 November [1536]. Appointment of John Lambert and John his son to the office of steward of all courts in Craven, with fee of £5.
E315/96 fo. 135.

(41) 10 April [1538]. Appointment of Martin Rokesby gent as bailiff of their manors of Holmpton and Penystrop in Holderness, and Wigton and Brandon juxta Penystrop with fee of £4.
LR1/175 fo. 170v.

(42) 3 May [1538]. Appointment of Alexander Whittingham gent as bailiff or collector of all rents from the manors of Embsey, Eastby and Halton [East] in Craven with fee of 4 marks.
Ibid fo. 148r. Whittingham appointed John Lambert of Calton and his son as deputies in January 1539: Yorks. Arch. Soc. Leeds, MD335/77/V19.

(43) 21 June 30 Henry VIII [1538]. Appointment of Sir Thomas Clifford and Ingram Clifford son of the [first] earl of Cumberland as steward of all lands in Yorkshire and elsewhere, with fee of £10.
Ibid fo. 107r.

(44) 31 August 30 Henry VIII [1538]. Appointment of William Blithman gent as receiver of all lands in England, for life with fee of £6.
LR1/175 fo. 90v. For Blithman, see below p. 135.

iv *OTHER BOLTON DOCUMENTS*

(45) 12 September [1419]. Quitclaim by Robert de Catton prior of Bolton and the convent to William Gascoigne, of all rights in the manor, messuage and lands which were of Richard de Remington in the townships of Broughton in Craven, Weeton, 'Westogh' or elsewhere in Yorkshire.
LR1/175 fos. 115r, 148v.

(46) 27 March [1522]. Feoffment by prior and convent of Bolton to John Lambert, of Winterwellhall in Skipton, two oxgangs, certain closes adjacent and existing between Bentleybriggrene and the burgage of John Weatherhird in Skipton, and a close called Warley rane in Skipton.
Rent 11*s* 8*d*.
E303/22 no. 40.

(47) 1 April [1522]. Quitclaim by the prior and convent of Bolton to John Lambert of all right in a messuage called Winterwellhall in Skipton and lands (described), value 26*s* 8*d*, with reservation of a rent of 11*s* 8*d*.
Ibid no. 27.

(48) 1 April (1522]. Quitclaim by John Lambert of Skipton to prior and convent of Bolton of all interest in a messuage in Halton juxta Bolton [Halton East] in tenure of Richard Slater and another in tenure of relict of Christopher Cloudesley of annual rent of 24*s* 8*d*. Endorsed with a note that the release is good because it was sealed before the pardon of mortmain made by statute in the Parliament of 15 Henry VIII.
Ibid no. 39c.

(49) 27 May [1522]. Bond binding John Lambert of Skipton in Craven gent to the prior and convent of Bolton in £100; condition to warrant messuages in Halton on the Hill granted to the priory for other lands in Skipton.
Ibid no. 47.

(50) 4 May [1523]. Bond binding John Lambert of Skipton in Craven, the king's receiver in the county palatine of Lancaster, to prior and convent of Bolton in £100; condition, that Lambert will discharge all such lands as Bolton has of him in Halton on the Hill forever from all claims made by any man and they to enjoy all rents according to a gift made to them by Lambert.
Ibid no. 16a.

(51) 24 September [1524]. Arbitration by Henry [11th] lord Clifford, reciting that disputes have arisen between the prior and convent of Bolton and Christopher Clapham of Beamsley and that the parties are bound to lord Clifford to abide the arbitration of Clifford with the vicar of Gargrave and Henry Marton of Eshton in all manner of disputes and especially for lands that lie in Storre feldys. Clifford awards that the prior and convent to have and occupy to them and their assigns all the lands within the aforesaid Storre feldes that belong to Clapham for ever. Clapham to have to him and his assigns in exchange all the prior and convent's lands in Gargrave, namely, a house, a messuage and 2 oxgangs of land. If the parties find the award touching the exchange to be insufficient, then Clifford awards that the parties to cause it to be amended as it shall be thought sufficient by learned counsel appointed at the cost of the prior as often as need be.

Whereas there have also been disputes over the Nedder Myln of Bolton, awards that Clapham to occupy the moiety of the mill now in the hands of the prior and convent for 16 years and the other half to have when the term of Thomas Stirke ends. Clapham to pay the prior and convent 40*s* rent for the half mill, £4 for the whole. The prior and convent to uphold the mill dam and the intake of the same, finding timber for the mill when needed, but Clapham to make all manner of repairs and at the end of the term to leave it tenantable. All normal suit to be done to the mill. [Indented, unsigned]
Ibid no. 39a. A further sealed but unsigned copy of this manuscript can be found amongst the unsorted Bolton and Londesborough charters in the duke of Devonshire's collections at Chatsworth.

(52) 20 December [1535]. General release by Richard prior of Bolton to Anne Young, widow and executor of Henry Young of Appletreewick jun., deceased, of all actions.
Ibid no. 14.

(53) 31 March [1536]. Sale by Sir William Blackburn *[Blagburn]* clerk, parson of Marton and vicar of Skipton, to the prior and convent of Bolton, reciting that the prior and convent of Bolton by indenture 6 January 1536 had granted to Blackburn one *more mere* upon Appletreewick moor at a place called the High Rake next to Richard Grame with all profits etc without demanding anything as lot, stot, tithe or any other advantage; Blackburn now grants all the lead ore that shall be got at anytime hereafter at 6*s* 8*d* the load for the prior to carry and burn to this most advantage.
Ibid no. 42.

(54) 7 June [1536]. Grant by the prior and convent to Christopher Aske esq, for 40 marks, of a corrody in the priory.
Ibid no. 46.

APPENDIX TWO

ABSTRACTS OF UNPUBLISHED FOUNTAINS LEASES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS FROM THE AUGMENTATIONS ARCHIVE.

i LEASES OF LANDS

Aldfield

(1) 7 June [1537]. Lease (in the form of a deed poll) to George Scothorpe and Alison his wife and John Scothorpe [their son] and Elizabeth his wife, of a farmhold in the township of Aldfield called Northus (rent 49*s*) and a meadow ground in Wynkesley ynges with the Chappell Hill in Wynkesley feldes (29*s* 4*d*) now in the holding of George Scothorpe, and a tenement adjoining to Northus called Blandhous now in the holding of John Malthus (15*s*). To hold for the life of the longest lived. Covenant that George and Alison to let no part of the lands except to John their son and Elizabeth his wife on pain of forfeiture. Additional covenant that if George and John die before their wives, then Alison and Elizabeth not to marry to the farmhold without the consent of the Abbot. The lease not to take effect with regard to the Blandhous until the death of John Malthus.
Rent [83*s* 4*d*].
LR1/174 fo. 215r, followed by an auditor's note as to the rents due.

(2) 9 January [1539]. Lease for 40 years to Sir William Mallory of Studley, of all the manors of Aldfield and Galphay. Licence to fell at his convenience all manner of spring woods growing in Aldfield and Galphay being seasonable to fell. Covenant protecting existing leaseholders and copyholders.
Rent £45 16*s* 2*d*.
Ibid fo. 227v.

Dacre

(3) In pleadings before the court of Augmentations dating from after 1540 between Sir Richard Gresham and Christopher Hardcastle for the possession of a quarter share of Dacre Grange, Hardcastle claimed to hold ½ of the grange by lease dated 26 January [1536] for the term of his life and 30 years following.
Rent 10*s*.
E321/18/100.

Litton

(4) A *liber dimissionis* of the third earl of Cumberland of 1579 recites a lease, 21 June [1536], made to Richard Fawcett [of Over Hesleden], of Overhesylden, for 40 years.
Rent £4 13*s* 4*d*.
Yorks. Arch. Soc. Leeds, DD121/29/2 fo. 83r.

Malham

(5-6) In pleadings in Chancery, dateable to 1554-8, between John Altham (then lord of the manor) and William Weatherhead for a messuage and 50 acres of land in Malham, Weatherhead recited leases made (5) to Alexander Whitfield on 11 August [1530] for 24 years, (6) to Alexander Weatherhead on 12 May 1535 for 40 years following the expiry of Whitfield's lease.
PRO C1/1327 nos. 25-8.

Marton le Moor

(7) 1 July [1538]. Lease for 41 years in reversion to John Wilson of Marton yeoman, after reciting a lease of the same premises made 2 March 1524 (*FLB* 125), of the manor place and lands in a schedule annexed in Marton and Dishforth, and also the tithe corn and office of keeper, to hold from the end of the term granted in 1524.
Rent £4 19*s*, rent for the tithe corn £21, but for his good service the prior and convent grant him an allowance of 30*s* from his rent.
The schedule of lands leased: one cottage in the holding of William Fall (16*s*), two tenements in the holding of the said John Wilson (£3), one cottage with one oxgang of land now in the holding of Janet Flint widow (7*s*), the Newe Close (10*s*), seven acres of meadow in Dishforth (6*s*).
E315/105 fo. 83v.

Rainton

(8) 29 February [1535]. Lease for successive five year terms for 30 years to Elizabeth Walker wid., Edward Walker, John Walker and Thomas Walker, of one tenement in the town of Rainton late in the holding of John Darnbrook decd and now in the holding of Elizabeth. The tenants not to tavern or sublet without licence. Covenant that if Elizabeth dies within the term, the residue to remain to Edward Walker and in default to John Walker and in default to Thomas Walker, being all the sons of Richard Walker, late husband of Elizabeth; If they all die within the term, the residue to be to the use of Elizabeth's children.
Bond in performance in £40.
Rent £4 7*s* 6*d*.
Endorsed with instructions from the court of Augmentations, reciting that Elizabeth Walker had died, that Edward Walker had surrendered his interest to the king and ordering that a new lease was to be made to Edward, John and Thomas Walker his brethern, for 21 years at the accustomed rent, with half a year's rent for a fine.
E303/22 no. 206. This tenement might possibly be that leased in FLB 128.

Sleningford

(9) 27 February [1534]. Lease for successive five year terms for 30 years to Thomas Helmsley sen, Thomas his son and Thomas Wilson, of Sleningford, of a tenement in Sleningford now in the holding of Thomas Helmsley sen. Covenant that the tenants forbidden to sublet or divide the tenement without licence and that if they die during the term of 30 years, the lease to be void and the tenement surrendered.
Rent £3.
LR1/174 fo. 232r.

(10) 14 April [1538]. Lease to Elizabeth Ullithorne wid and William her son of one tenement in Sleningford late in the holding of William Ullithorne Elizabeth's husband, the father of William. To hold to Elizabeth during her widowhood and then to William for 24 years. Covenants including that they not to let any part of the tenement and that if William dies before the term be concluded, the lease to be void. The lessees not to make any assigns without licence.
Rent 46*s* 8*d*. Fine 5 marks.
Ibid fo. 218v. Demised previously to William Ullithorne, probably Elizabeth's husband, in 1528.
FLB 172.

North Stainley

(11) 22 July [1535]. Lease for 31 years to John Staveley of Ripon Park gent, of a tenement in the fields of North Stainley late in the holding of Miles Bell of Danby Forest yeo. Covenant against letting the tenement or any land from it, and the tenants not to apply any land of their own to the tenement, but to keep it several. Staveley bound in £40.
Rent 13*s* 4*d*.
Ibid fo. 22lr. Previously demised to John Bell in 1509. *FLB* 170.

Thorpe Underwood township

(12) 12 December [1530]. Lease for 40 years to Miles Man and John his son of all the manor and farm of Wigington, Wigington Crok and Elwyk now in the occupation of Miles. To do all repairs, but to have all manner of timber and wood for buildings from the keeper of Thorpe Underwood and firewood for three hearths.
Rent £8.
LR1/174 fo. 27r. Previous leases are in *FLB*, of 1489 (112-3) and to Francis Man and Peter his son in 1524 (123).

Wheldrake

(13) 22 October [1530]. Lease for 25 years in reversion to John Haxby of Wheldrake, of a tenement or farmhold in Wheldrake now in the holding of William his father with all lands and the windmill now in William's holding, and also the office of bailiff and keeper of their woods in Wheldrake. To hold from the death of his father. Covenant that John to find convenient living for his stepmother during her widowhood either in the farmhold or elsewhere so that she have no reasonable complaint. If John dies within the term, then the residue to remain to Margaret his wife during her widowhood. If she remarries then the term to remain to Richard Haxby, John's son, until the term completed. If Richard be in his nonage, then the abbot and convent to have the oversight and occupation of the keepership until he be of competent and lawful age. At the end of the term the lessees to surrender all interest. Covenant against subletting without licence. Duty to keep all woods and deliver timber only with a warrant from the abbot and convent; to collect rents and amercements and to make account when called upon. To make presentments of trespasses at the court. To attend the abbot and convent, their successors and officers when they come into the country. To be ready at lawful warning to ride with the abbot when called upon with his own horse at the costs of the abbot and convent. Has the grant of a fee of 30*s*. Binds himself in £40.
Rent £8 5*s* 2½*d*.
Ibid fo. 223v. A previous William Haxby was appointed keeper and forester in Wheldrake in 1493 (*FLB* 103), but this appears to be the first recorded lease of the tenement.

(14) 20 May [1538]. Lease for 31 years to William Fairchild of Wheldrake, husbandman and Agnes his wife of one farmhold in Wheldrake now in the tenure of William, namely one toft and one croft with 20 acres of arable and a quarter of a close called the Cow Pasture and a close called Pighill with 3½ acres of meadow.
Rent 40*s* 4*d*.
Ibid fo. 226r.

ii COPIES OF COURT ROLL

Bewerley

(15) At the court of the manor of Bewerley, 13 May [1532]. John Hogeson and [ ] his wife came and took one tenement in the occupation of Margaret Hogeson widow, his mother, for lives of John and [his wife] from the death of Margaret. Provision that [John's wife] to occupy the tenement during her widowhood. Admitted.

Rent 12*s* 5*d*. Has paid his fine (not specified).
Ibid fo. 197r.

Wheldrake

(16) At the court of the manor of Wheldrake 3 February [1529]. John Bowell, John Butler, Robert Gibson and Christopher Floure came and took one close called Newclose previously in the tenure of William Hirley, to hold for 14 years. Admitted.
Rent 73*s* 4*d*.
LR1/174 fo. 28v.

(17) At the court of the manor of Wheldrake 30 September [1536]. Thomas Hardwick of London, gent came and took one close called le Newclose now in the tenure of John Bowell, John Butler, Robert Gibson and Christopher Floure, to hold for 20 years after the end of a term of demise to Bowell *et al.* Admitted.
Rent 73*s* 4*d*. Fine 40*s*.
Ibid fo. 28v.

iii GRANTS OF OFFICES

(18) 5 June 10 Henry VIII [1495]. Grant to Richard Beckwith sen and Richard his son after he comes of full age of the office of bailiff, supervisor and custodian of the manor or grange and woods of Aldburgh and Nutwithcote in the parish of Masham, for the life of the longer liver with fee of 13*s* 4*d* and a gown.
LR1/173 fo. 282r. Cf *FLB* 156.

(19) 20 May 30 Henry VIII [1538]. Appointment of Richard Vavasour gent as bailiff and receiver of the manor of Knapton in Yorkshire, for life with fee of 26*s* 8*d*.
LR1/174 fos 199r-v, 202r-3v; E315/97 fo. 68r.

(20) 10 November 30 Henry VIII [1538]. Grant to Henry Norton esq of the office of general receiver and supervisor of all manors and lands in Yorkshire, for life, as fully as John Ripon cellarer held the same office before this time, with fee of £10, a chamber in the house, food and drink for himself and two servants and stabling for 3 horses.
Ibid fo. 35r; E315/95 fo. 178v.

APPENDIX THREE

ABSTRACTS OF GRANTS OF ANNUITIES MADE BY BOLTON AND FOUNTAINS DRAWN FROM THE AUGMENTATIONS ARCHIVE.

Whilst it has been well known that many monastic houses were profligate with grants of annuities in the last few years of their existence, little attention has been paid to the chronology of these grants, their scale, or recipients. Broadly speaking, the annuities were granted under convent seal to a named grantee for life, the charge to be drawn either generally from the estates or from the revenues of a particular manor. The obvious purpose was to bind the recipient to the grantor: but once granted the annuities could not be revoked and the annuitant was normally conceded the right to distrain should his annuity be in arrears.

The texts of the patents survive in the decree books and the auditor's enrolment books in large numbers, and are further recited in the augmentation's receiver's accounts. Together these sources show that between them Bolton and Fountains granted 54 annuities, to which can be added one further annuity.[1] This is likely to be a complete list of all the grants current at the dissolution of each house. In monetary terms the Bolton grants cost the house £48 17*s* 4*d* yearly, those of Fountains £126 2*s* 4*d*, that is about a

1. Granted by Fountains to Thomas Cromwell, and which is recorded amongst Cromwell's own accounts. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* XIV no. 782, pp. 320, 323.

twelfth of Bolton's income from land and less than a tenth of Fountains'.

It is clear that few annuities were made before 1536. All the Bolton annuities and 31 of the 37 Fountains annuities were made in 1537 or subsequently and they must be seen as a further response to the fear of dissolution of those years. At Bolton the chronological pattern of grants coincides with the onset of leasing described earlier. At Fountains the shape is less clear, but here too grants were infrequently made before May 1537.

The recipients of the annuities include both men of significance and the greatest obscurity. Both houses made annuities in favour of Thomas Cromwell, Bolton giving him £10 and Fountains £20. Although this aspect of his career awaits examination, Cromwell was obviously collecting annuities on a large scale. In Michaelmas term 1539 he had Augmentations confirm the texts of 30 grants made to him alone or with his son. The potential advantages of securing the favour of king's chief minister with a *douceur* were straightforward enough. But Cromwell also sought such grants for himself and his servants, arranging, for instance, for Sir William Petre's enormous annuity from Fountains and therefore crossed the line between accepting presents and extorting gifts.[2] Other annuities were granted towards figures at the centre who might be able to assist the purposes of the house. Fountains gave a rather mean fee of £3 6*s* 8*d* to the recently created earl of Southampton. It spent rather more on annuities granted to Richard and John Smith, both of Newcastle upon Lyme (and later MPs for that borough) who both served as minor functionaries at court. The justification for their annuities must have been that they could either provide access to court or act as a conduit to direct the house's requests to the king or others, but there is no evidence of Fountains actually using their services. Bolton probably tried to achieve something of the same with a lease to one of Anne Boleyn's servants, William Marton, perhaps of the family of that name settled at Eshton in Craven.[3] On the other hand, neither house offered an annuity to any member of the king's privy chamber although one fashionable school of thought holds that this was the real heart of Tudor politics.

A similar sort of advocacy must have been expected from Henry Audley and Robert Warmington. Both are figures of obscurity, but each had annuities from a number of houses. Audley, said to have been of St Albans, had annuities from houses as scattered as Repingham, Coventry, Leeds Priory (Kent) and Cockersand. He became joint steward of St Albans and had a lease of lands from Cockersand Abbey in late 1537. Fountains gave him an annuity of £5 which suggests that they believed that he was capable of performing some service for them, but who he was or what he could offer remains obscure.[4] Warmington, a common lawyer, had fees from both Bolton and Fountains and other houses including St Mary's, York, but other than a suggestion that he might have been within Cromwell's circle, there is no obvious clue as to who he was.[5]

The other recipients of monastic largesse were all essentially local. Both houses took care to offer fees to lawyers within Yorkshire (John Lambert, John Pullen, William Babthorpe). They had every reason to look kindly upon William Blithman, not so much to secure their future as expedite the payment of their pensions. Blithman was Augmentation's receiver in Durham and Richmondshire from the establishment of the court. Fountains' estates therefore passed into his charge: it made good sense to give him £4 from the very revenues he was charged with collecting. Bolton made him their receiver with a fee of £6, but it was in his *persona* as crown servant that he dissolved the

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2. E315/96 fos. 115-125; Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries* p. 60; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* XIII (1) no. 912.
3. Above App. 1 no. 22.
4. E315/93 fos. 7v-10v: Youings, *Dissolution of the Monasteries* p. 57.
5. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII,* XII (i) nos. 822, 1025, 1264.

house and sold its goods in January 1539.[6]

The fact that a number of annuities were offered to individuals of influence (or supposed influence) cannot disguise the fact that most of the annuities were given to men drawn from the immediate circle of the house, both gentle and tenant. The size of the annuities were usually much smaller (20*s* or 40*s*) than those offered to political contacts. These gifts must be seen as rewards for services in the administration of the estate or house. A few went to gentry neighbours of the house. That some of the annuities were made to servants within the monastic domestic establishment can be seen by comparing the list of Bolton annuitants with that of the servants paid off at the dissolution.[7] No such list is in print for Fountains, but a substantial number of their annuitants appear to have been tenants drawn from the estates (eg nos. 22-29), a category of persons not favoured by Bolton. More work is needed to identify these individuals.

Granting annuities in these years was something of an innovation for both houses. Both tried to buy contacts at the centre while favouring a small circle of gentry around them. Fountains scattered annuities around the estate in a way in which Bolton did not. For both houses, granting annuities was both forward looking and backward looking, an attempt to buy new friends whilst rewarding old friends for their service in the past. Whether other houses behaved in a similar fashion remains to be seen. But it is hoped that this brief excursus will have revealed the intrinsic interest of the annuities and the desirability of treating them as an additional angle to the dissolution.

The abstracts which follow are highly abbreviated. All grants are for service unless otherwise stated. The manors from which annuities are to be drawn and upon which rights of distress are granted are not indicated.

(a) *Bolton*

Except where stated, all references are to LR1/175. LR6/121/1 m.18d (receiver's account of Michaelmas 1540) provides a comprehensive list of annuities, adding only one to those known from the survival of texts of patents.

[1537]

(1) 31 March. To Robert Warmington, bachelor of law, for good counsel, 40*s*. fo. 119r.

[1538]

(2) 4 February. To William Beane their auditor, 40*s*. fo. 108r.
(3) 1 June. To William Young 8*s*. fo. 117v.
(4) 10 June. To William Bellisis gent, £8. fo. 118r.
(5) 17 June. To John Lambert and John Lambert his son, £8. E315/96 fo. 135v-136r; original YAS MD335/77 no. V17.
(6) 20 June . To Christopher Clapham Ar and William his son and heir, 40*s*. E315/100 fo. 294v.
(7) 10 July. To Thomas Cromwell, £10 from Embsey. E315/96 fo. 117.
(8) 6 September. To Robert Wheatley gent, for good favour and counsel, £5. fo. 113r, 116v.
(9) 30 September. To Alan Scarborough gent, 22*s*. fo. 122r.
(10) 1 October. To William Ellison, for good and faithful service done to the prior and convent during their necessary negotiations, 13*s* 4*d*. fo. 121v.
(11) 4 October. To John Pullen of Kellinghall gent, for good and faithful counsel, 20*s*. fo. 138r.
(12) 24 October. To Ralph Grimston their auditor, £5. fo. 138v.
(13) 20 November. To William Babthorpe gent, 40*s*. fo. 173r.
(14) 10 December. To Thomas Garth, for his good, faithful and long service in keeping the woods at Bolton, 20*s*. fo. 139r.

[1539]

(15) 1 January. To Richard Hakele, 10*s*. fo. 121v.
(16) 1 January. To William Dixon of Storithes, slater, 4*s*. fo. 117r.

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6. Above App. 1 no. 44; W. C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations 1536-1554* (1961) p. 49; *BPR* pp. 19-24.
7. The list is *BPR* p. 23.

(b) *Fountains*

Except where stated, all references are to LR1/174. SC6/Henry VIII/7471 m. g dorse – m. i dorse provides a full list of annuities and fees paid in the year ending Michaelmas 1540.

(17) 3 June [1526]. To Robert Middleton of Ripon, 40*s*. fo. 242v.
(18) 19 July [1534]. To Thomas Wendy, Doctor of Medicine, at the special request of Henry, [sixth] earl of Northumberland, of £3 6*s* 8*d*. LR1/173 fo. 283r; E315/98 fo. 94v.
(19) 10 May [1535]. Robert Percy, 13*s* 4*d*. SC6/Henry VIII/7471 m.h. dorse.
(20) 20 March [1536]. To Robert Warmington, bachelor of law, 40*s*. E315/97 fo. 92v.
(21) 20 May [1536]. To Christopher Hebden, principal cook of the house, 40*s*. fo. 198r; E315/97 fo. 96v.
(22) 1 June [1536]. To Thomas Barber of Aldfield yeo., 26*s*. fo. 194v.

[1537]

(23) 3 May. To William Petre, doctor of laws, £40. E315/94 fo. 11v.
(24) 10 May. To James Gelder of Sawley, yeo., 10*s*. fo. 194r.
(25) 10 May. To Christopher Atkinson yeo, 10*s*. fo. 194v.
(26) 10 May. To John Faconberde yeo, 20*s*. fo. 239v.
(27) 10 May. To Peter Fowler yeo, 10*s*. fo. 244r.
(28) 20 May. To Richard Johnson, 40*s*. E315/94 fo. 100r.
(29) 1 July. To Ralph Hogesonson *[sic]*, 40*s*. fo. 246r; E315/97 fo. 114r.
(30) 10 July. To George Mayll of Snape yeo, 20*s*. fo. 42v.
(31) 1 September. To Richard Smith of Newcastle upon Lyme, valet of the king's wardrobe, £4. fo. 9r; E315/94 fo. 132v.
(32) 1 September. To John Smith, valet of the king's wardrobe, £6. fo. 10v; E315/94 fo. 133v.
(33) 12 November. To John Whitacres, 40*s*. E315/104 fo. 126.
(34) 12 November. To William, earl of Southampton, £3 6*s* 8*d*. E315/94 fo. 136r; *FLB* 269.
(35) 25 November. John Broadbelt yeo, 26*s* 8*d*. E315/98 fo. 82r.
(36) 5 December. To John Hall clerk, 40*s*. fo. 240r.
(37) 5 December. To George Ellis clerk, 40*s*. fo. 242r.
(38) 9 December. To John Cooke, 40*s*. fo. 43r.
(39) 10 December. To Marmaduke Abbot of Aldfield, 20*s*. fo. 240v.

[1538]

(40) 20 February. To Henry Audeley gent, for good counsel, £5. fo. 18r; E315/93 fo. 9r.
(41) 1 March. Thomas Watson, 40*s*. E315/93 fo. 202v.
(42) 10 April. Anthony Ukkirby, 33*s* 4*d*, SC6/Henry VIII/7471 m.h. dorse.
(43) 10 April. To Robert Swale gent, for diligent service, 20*s*. fo. 247v.
(44) 10 June. John Asquith of Sawley, 20*s*. fo. 195v.
(45) 9 September. To Thomas Rigge yeo, 26*s* 8*d*. fo. 34r-v, repeated fo. 239r-v.
(46) 9 September. To Ralph Casse yeo, 26*s* 8*d*. fos. 196v-197r.
(47) 10 November. To William Hebden wheelwright *[rotario]* of Sawley near Fountains, yeo, of 20*s*. fo. 246-7.
(48) 4 December. To Thomas Hardwick gent, for good counsel, 26*s* 8*d*. fo. 200r; E315/94 fo. 88r.
(49) 7 December. To William Bossall of Sawley near Fountains, 20*s*. fo. 42r.

[1539]

(50) 10 January. Miles Stirk, 20*s*. SC6/Henry VIII/; 471 m. i dorse.
(51) 10 January. To John Willing of Salley, 20*s*. fo. 196r.
(52) 12 January. James Foxe, 20*s*. E315/93 fo. 83v.
(53) 20 August. To Richard Bowyer alias Richard Stirley of York, notary public and Thomasine his wife, for joint lives and life of the survivor, of 1,000 'lez kiddez' of wood and underwood from Thorpe Underwood, to be brought to the staithe called St Leonard's landing [in York], with an annuity of 26*s* 8*d*. LR1/173 fo. 83r; E315/101 fo. 82v.

Undated

(54) William Blithman £4. SC6/Henry VIII/7471 m. g dorse.

THE SEIZURE OF HULL AND ITS MAGAZINE JANUARY 1642

By I. E. Ryder

The two principal magazines of the kingdom in late 1641 were those at Hull and the Tower of London. Hull had become the repository of a magazine during the wars against the Scots, being described as 'the most considerable place for strength in the northern parts of the kingdom'. The magazine was based in the manor house in Lowgate. In the summer of 1641 the Hull garrison, with what remained of the Army against the Scots, was disbanded, and the town and magazine placed in the care of the mayor and burgesses. By January 1642 the magazine was estimated to contain sufficient arms for 16,000 men.[1]

In response to the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland, in October 1641, the king and parliament ordered the raising and dispatch of 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The equipping of these forces effectively emptied the magazine in the Tower. Sir John Byron wrote from there in late January: 'very shortly there will be little cause to stand in awe of the Tower, for almost all the arms are already issued out for Ireland, and none are brought into replenish the magazine'.[2]

As the stores in the Tower were issued out, so the importance of the Hull magazine grew. It was such that following the king's abortive attempt to arrest the five members of parliament on 4 January and his departure from London, both protagonists quickly perceived the need to secure Hull. Besides the magazine, Hull also offered the king a powerfully defended east coast port, and one which would allow him easy access to supplies and reinforcements from the Continent.[3] On 11 January both the king and parliament appointed their own governors for Hull. According to the Venetian ambassador parliament made the first move 'To Ult [Hull], a place of consequence, the magazine of a quantity of munitions and arms, they [parliament] have sent a trustworthy person [Sir John Hotham] to take charge. When the king heard of this he also sent orders and patents to the Earl of Newcastle to throw himself hurriedly into that town to secure its obedience to the king'. Parliament also ordered 'some companies of the trained band next adjoining Hull be forthwith put into the town', on the pretext that 'no great strength is in the town and that the country about is full of papists ill affected'. These actions were taken openly: parliament required that the king 'be made aquainted with this order speedily'. The king, by contrast, made every effort to hide his actions. Secretary of State Sir Edward Nicholas was ordered not to enter at the Signet Office either Newcastle's commission or a warrant issued to William Legge appointing him keeper of the magazine at Hull.[4] Newcastle's commission, dated 11 January, was copied in the Lords' journal following its surrender:

Trusty and right well beloved cousin and councellor we, being confident of your affection and fidelity to our service do command you, upon your duty and allegiance, immediately upon sight hereof, to repair in person,

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1. *The life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle,* ed. C. H. Firth, (1906), p. 8; *L(ords) J(ournals),* iv, p. 505; B. Reckitt, *Charles the First and Hull,* (1952), p. 14; J. Rushworth, *Historical collections,* (1721), iv, p. 565; Clarendon, *History of the great rebellion,* ed. W. D. Macray, (1888), i, pp. 517, 523; *Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 7 Nov. 1640 - 24 Feb. 1642,* B(ritish) L(ibrary), Harleian MSS, fol. 316.
2. *C(alendar of) S(tate) P(apers) D(omestic),* 1641-43, p. 269; *C(ommons) J(ournals),* ii, p. 312; *LJ,* iv p. 421.
3. *Newcastle,* p. 9; *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow,* ed. C. H. Firth, (1894), i, p. 28.
4. *LJ,* iv, p. 505; *C(alendar of) S(tate) P(apers) V(enetian),* 1640-42, p. 283; *CSPD,* 1641-43, pp. 251, 256.

with all possible speed, into our town of Hull, and to take our said town of Hull and magazine there, into your care and government, and we do further require you to take in the said town of Hull the regiment of Sir Thomas Metham or any other force that you shall think necessary for the defence of that place. And we do strictly command you to keep the said place and magazine for us, against attempts whatsoever; and we do further command you not to forsake or deliver up the said place, upon any command whatsoever, other than under our own hand; and we do, by these presents, command all lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and all other officers whatsoever within Yorkshire, to obey your commands, for our service, and we do hereby command Sir Thomas Metham, the mayor, and other officers of Hull, and Captain William Legge, keeper of our magazine there, to yield obedience to your commands, for the securing of that place. For all which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Execute this with all diligence and secrecy until ye come upon the place.[5]

Newcastle received the king's commission at his home, probably Welbeck. His wife described his actions: 'Immediately upon the receipt of these his majesty's orders and commands, my lord prepared for their execution, and about twelve of the clock at night, hastened from his own house when his family were all at their rest, save two or three servants which he appointed to attend him. The next day early in the morning he arrived at Hull in the quality of a private gentleman'. Rushworth confirms that Newcastle did not at first declare himself: the earl 'desired to pass unknown, calling himself Sir John Savage, and at his first coming was brought before the mayor, under that name, till being known by some by-standers, he was forced to own both his name and his errand'. Rushworth attributes Newcastle's reticence to declare his true identity, to his 'suspecting what the sequel of that errand might be'. In reality Newcastle's was a prudent act, which could have allowed him time to ascertain the strength of royalist support in the town, and to adjust his actions accordingly. In the meantime, Clarendon points out, 'But nothing the king did in the most private manner, but was quickly known to those from whom it should most have been concealed. And so the Earl of Newcastle was no sooner gone, but notice was taken of it'.[6]

The pretext that parliament used to appoint Sir John Hotham, an M.P. for Beverley, to the governorship of Hull was that he already held a 'patent from the king'. This was stretching the truth, for although Hotham had been governor, the king had replaced him at the start of the first Scots war with William Legge. Other authors have pointed to the king's replacement of Hotham by Legge as one of the deciding factors in Hotham favouring the parliamentary cause.[7] When appointing Sir John the Commons resolved that he or 'such person as he shall be responsible for do instantly repair to Hull'. Unfortunately, Sir John's actions were not instantaneous and parliament's notice to the king of their intended action allowed him to take the initiative. Sir Hugh Cholmley described the events: 'After that Sir John had undertaken that employment for Hull he had some occasions that detained him at London; so that upon notice of the Lord of Newcastle being gone thither, young Hotham was sent down to show to the townsmen his father's authority from the parliament and to draw forces into the town'. Young Hotham, also known as Captain John Hotham, was the eldest son of Sir John and an M.P. for Scarborough. The forces mentioned by Cholmley were the East Riding trained bands, of which Sir John was colonel. Hotham's command of the local forces was to be of crucial importance in the forthcoming struggle with Newcastle, who commanded the more remote North Riding trained bands.[8]

The next day, 12 January, parliament asserted its control over the king's authority, by

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5. *LJ*, iv, p. 585.
6. *Newcastle*, pp. 8, 70; Rushworth, iv, p. 565; Clarendon, i, p. 523; J. L. Sanford, *Studies and illustrations of the great rebellion*, (1858), p. 474.
7. *LJ*, iv, p. 505; A. M. W. Stirling, *The Hothams*, (1918), i, pp. 32, 36; Reckitt, p. 19; *D(ictionary of) N(ational) B(iography)*, Sir John Hotham.
8. *CJ*, ii, p. 371; Sir Hugh Cholmeley's memorials, *Clarendon S(tate) P(apers)*, (1767-86), ii, p. 181; *E(nglish) H(istorical) R(eview)*, xxii, (1907), p. 312.

commanding 'that Sir John Hotham or whom else he shall appoint under him, shall not deliver up the town of Hull or magazine there or any part thereof, without the king's authority, signified unto him by the lords and commons house of parliament'. Rushworth gives further elaboration of what happened in the Commons that day: 'to hasten this order [Sir John's] down to Hull Mr John Hotham... was ordered by the house, to go immediately with the same; and Mr Hotham then standing up in the gallery of the house of commons thus expressed himself Mr Speaker! Fall back! Fall edge! I will go down and perform your commands.' To aid him the Commons had previously ordered warrants to be issued for good and sufficient horses and guides.[9]

William Legge was the first to reach the vicinity of Hull, on the 13th, where he quickly realised that the king's plan to use Sir Thomas Metham's regiment was impractical. A letter from Legge to Nicholas dated 14 January, and received on the 18th, outlines his activities:[10]

> My first address in these parts was to Sir Thomas Metham with the king's directions; but I found him altogether incapable of any power to secure the magazine or town of Hull, as being neither deputy-lieutenant nor colonel of the train bands. When that hope was taken from me, I conceived the best means I had was to prevail with the burgesses of this town by themselves to secure the place for his majesty's service, and that work is very well brought to pass; for last night here arrived an express from Sir John Hotham with an order from the parliament for him to be governor, and a power to draw in such forces as he thought fit: likewise a letter from him to the magistrates for preparing lodging and billet for his regiment. His admission was quite denied, and a letter to the parliament dispatched under the hands of the chief burgesses to excuse themselves from receiving any garrison, they of the town being able to secure the place for his majesty's service.
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> This afternoon arrived here the Earl of Newcastle with the king's commission for the government, – to which I shall, for my own part, be ever obedient; but I perceive not the townsmen so willing to receive him unto their command, but insist upon their own affections and readiness to serve his majesty with all faithfullness. Now the means of a present strength from Sir Thomas Metham, or any near hand, being taken away, there is no means for us but to assure the people of this town to his majesty by holding off any other from the power of the place; and if ever his majesty appear in person all will absolutely be at his disposing. When I received his majesty's command, he told me his directions should be derived by you, and therefore I humbly beseech you to give him this account of me, and I shall to my uttermost power labour nothing but for the king's service.

The town's response to Legge's arrival was to appoint a committee of twenty-four burgesses to confer with the mayor and aldermen 'for the defence of the town during these times of danger'. As a result of this conference the town refused to accept either Legge or Newcastle. On the 15th a disconsolate Newcastle wrote to the King:[11]

> May it please your most sacred majesty, I am here at Hull according to your majesty's commands, but the town will not admit me by no means, so I am very flat and out of countenance here, but will stay until I know your majesty's further pleasure, which I hope I shall soon do. God preserve your majesty, your majesty's most faithful creature.

Legge's claim of prevailing upon the townsmen to assert their rights to the governorship is dubious. The townsmen needed no such urging. In August 1640 they had stoutly resisted the king's appointment of Sir Thomas Glemham as governor, on the basis that it was their ancient right. The town's resistance, at that time, was only overcome by a threat from the king to make an expensive personal visit to the town. It was this precedent that probably prompted Legge to suggest that the king came to Hull. However, Newcastle and Legge were forced to remain impotent in the town, while its citizens wrote to both the king and parliament. Drafts of both letters survive, but as the letter to the king was framed from that to parliament *'mutatis mutandis'* only the letter to parliament is reproduced here. Both letters emphasise the claim of the town to the governorship, compounded by grievances caused by the recent billeting of Glemham's soldiers. The letter to parliament also politely but firmly asks them to obtain the king's

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9. *CJ,* ii, pp. 371, 372; Rushworth, iv, p. 496.
10. *CSPD,* 1641-43, p. 253.
11. *CSPD,* 1641-43, p, 256; Hull R(ecord) O(ffice), *Bench book,* 13 Jan. 1642.

permission for the town to give up the governorship:[12]

After presentment of our bounden duty and service to your honours with right humble thanks for your great care and providence for the safety of this town and his majesty's magazine here, expressed by an order made by the lords in parliament [upon] the 12th of this instant, which came to our hands the 14th of the same, by which Sir John Hotham is authorised to command the same. We humbly crave leave to demonstrate the many grievances which of late we experienced by billeting of the late regiment of soldiers amongst us, who not withstanding all the care of their vigilant governor Sir Thomas Glemham, by whose command they were as much overawed as possibly could be expected, yet hath the town in that short time suffered so great ruins by them as will not of long time be repaired; our experience of which inconvenience, makes us now fear, the like damage to [ensue] by a new company of soldiers, to be brought into the town, and therefore we are humble suiters that as his royal majesty and noble predecessors have of long time committed the custody and government of this town, and his highness's fortresses here, to the mayor and burgesses of this town by grant under the great seal of England and for the safe guard these the then governors did bind both themselves and us in a strict indenture of covenant; so his sacred majesty and the lords and commons in parliament would not think us unworthy of that trust and confidence which hath been so long expressed in us who ever have been, and upon all occasions will be ready to manifest our loyalty and true obedience to his majesty and the parliament in doubling our care and diligence for discharge of your trust committed to us.

We further make bold to acquaint your honours, that on Thursday last [13th], came to this town Capt. William Legge, having a strict commission from his majesty to take care of his highness's magazine here, and this day [14th] came hither the right honourable the Earl of Newcastle and showed us a commission from his majesty dated the 11th day of this January to take upon him the government of this town and his majesty's magazine here; and to bring in with him companies of Sir Thomas Metham's regiment of soldiers: or what other forces he should think fit. All which we humbly recommend to the humble consideration of the parliament, and humbly pray that in case your honours shall still consider it fitting to place a garrison of soldiers here, you would be pleased to procure us his majesty's consent and command for our warrant and discharge therein, and so in all humble manner we take leave and shall ever remain, his majesty's and the parliaments loyal and obedient subjects and servants.

Although the letters to parliament and king were written on the 14th and 15th respectively, the former was not sent until the 16th. An abbreviated version of this letter printed in the Lords' journal bears the latter date. D'Ewes reports that the mayor also wrote, at the same time, to Peregrine Pelham, one of the two M.Ps for Hull, explaining that 'he had neither received those trained bands of Yorkshire which his majesty had commanded the Earl of Newcastle to bring in nor those which the two houses of parliament had ordered to be put into the town under command of Sir John Hotham.. but humbly desired that the king and parliament would join in the appointing of a garrison to be received in by them.' The fact that Newcastle did not have any forces, together with the townsmen's historical reluctance to yield the governorship, indicates this letter to be no more than a device designed to placate parliament, while simultaneously leaving the mayor as compromise choice as governor.[13] Why the townsmen did not dispatch the letter to parliament until the 16th is unknown, but what finally prompted action was probably intelligence that John Hotham was marching with the trained bands on the town.

Judging from the date of Legge's arrival, the journey between London and Hull in the mid seventeenth century took two days, if expedited. Thus, if John Hotham set out on the 12th or 13th he could have arrived at Hull on the 14th or 15th. That he did not go direct to the town, can be inferred from the fact that he is not mentioned in either Legge's, Newcastle's or the townsmen's letters. The reason for Hotham's delay was the need to gain military support; however, he was definitely before the town on the 18th. Cholmley describes the situation 'As soon as young Hotham came into the country he immediately drew into the town of Hull three or four hundred of the trained band'. Hotham's success at raising military support contrasts with Legge's failure, and reflects the importance of Hotham's local influence. Sir John expressed it as follows: 'I may justly say God's providence on my son's vigilance and courage, with the strength of my

12. Stirling, i, p. 36; Reckitt, p. 13; Hull RO, *Letters and documents,* M173.
13. *LJ,* iv, p. 526; *D'Ewes,* 162, fol. 336.

interest with the gentry thereabouts, defeated this first and most dangerous design'.[14]

According to De la Pryme the town had first been alarmed by a letter from Henry Vane Junior, the other Hull M.P., following the king's attempt on the five members. As a result the mayor and burgesses armed the townsmen, from the magazine, and mounted a day and night guard. De la Pryme also describes the mayor's action following notice of Hotham's advance on the town: 'he immediately drew up the bridges shut the gates charged the cannons, and called all the burgesses to their arms, resolving to keep them out, but Hotham being come to the gates, sent a trumpeter to demand admittance for him and his forces, but the mayor very bravely answered again, that he was instructed by the king and sworn governor and keeper of the town, for his majesty, and that he was resolved to be true both to his trust, and his oath, therefore sent him word either to remove further off or to expect to be treated like an enemy'.[15]

After waiting for some time outside Hotham, but not his soldiers, appears to have been admitted into the town for discussions. His negotiating style was described by his father as the 'well management of threats and treaties'. Despite this, the town refused to admit him and he was forced on the 18th to write complaining to his father and via him to parliament. The letter was read to the Commons on the 20th. D'Ewes describes the reaction of the house and provides a summary of the contents, which 'did almost startle us all, upon the reading thereof in which he [Hotham] showed that the mayor and some of the aldermen of Hull whose names he expressed were the cause that the trained bands he brought according to the order of both Houses were not admitted into the town, but that the greater part of the town were willing to it.' Also 'that if the parliament did not take care to second their former orders they would render their authority and commands contemptable to all men. That if he might receive further orders to proceed on fall back, fall edge he would put it to the hazard.' The Lords' journal provides the names of three men whom Hotham described as being most adverse to parliament's proposal: the mayor, Mr Henry Barnard, Alderman James Watkinson and Mr James Cartwright, a draper.[16]

Prior to parliament's receipt of John Hotham's letter the king and parliament had been engaged in a series of exchanges over Hull. These seem to be motivated by the need on the king's part to give Newcastle and Legge time to achieve their objective, and on parliament's to gain legality for Hotham's appointment. On the 13th parliament received the following cryptic message to its notification of Hotham's appointment: 'For the fears concerning Hull his majesty had formerly considered the same, and hath already taken special care of the security of that place from the adjoining papists'. Two days later parliament asked that the 'king might be moved to concur with both houses in the order made concerning the giving power to Sir John Hotham'. After a further two days another royal message was received: 'his majesty conceiveth he hath formerly given a satisfactory answer'. However, on the 17th following official notice of the king's action parliament appointed a committee for examining Legge's commission. Similarly, receipt of John Hotham's letter, on the 20th, prompted the immediate calling of a conference between the Lords and Commons to discuss the crisis. The conference resulted in confirmatory orders being sent to Hull and the summons of Newcastle, Legge and the named townsmen to attend on parliament.

D'Ewes relates that during the debate in the Commons, Peregrine Pelham offered to

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14. Reckitt, p. 120; Cholmeley, ii, p. 181; *D'Ewes,* 162, fol. 337.
15. A. De la Pryme, *A history of Kingston upon Hull,* (Hull RO, 1986), ii, p. 72. De la Pryme wrote a history of Hull in the late 1690s and almost certainly, besides oral tradition, had access to documentation which has since been lost. Although this account should be treated with caution, it does put flesh on some of the activities at Hull in January 1642, not covered by surviving contemporary sources.
16. Reckitt, p. 120; *LJ.* iv, p. 526; De la Pryme, ii, p. 72; BL, *T(homason) T(racts),* E133(16); *D'Ewes,* 162, fol. p. 337.

go to Hull in the 'hope to accommodate things so that the town should readily obey the orders of parliament'. However, Sir John Hotham opposed the proposal because Pelham was a freeman of the town and 'he might think himself obliged by his oath not to admit any soldiers into the town'. Another and more likely reason for Hotham's opposition to the proposal, was that he was 'extremely sensible of honour and discourtesies' and thus, would have viewed Pelham's intervention as interference in his affairs. D'Ewes observed 'this most seasonable offer of Mr Pelham came to nothing at which of myself was much troubled'.[17]

The prompt action of parliament on receipt of its emissaries' letter contrasts with the inactivity of the king and his advisers. For, though they had seized the initiative by getting first Legge and then Newcastle to Hull before Hotham, this advantage seems to have been frittered away. Newcastle and Legge's letters of the 14th and 15th should have alerted the king to the situation in Hull, to the town's assertion of their right to the governorship, and also, given recent history, to the unlikelihood of their yielding it passively. Legge's letter was received on the 18th two days ahead of Parliament's intelligence. This should have prompted one of two actions, either an immediate dispatch requiring the town to keep the governorship in their own hands, or, as originally suggested by Legge, and later by Newcastle, an immediate visit to Hull by the king in person. Both these actions apparently were considered and the former carried out, but with such delay that parliament had already forced the issue. One reason for the king not going to Hull is provided by Madame de Motteville. She indicates that the king was distracted from events at Hull by a design to send the queen to Holland. Although the queen did not travel until late February, well after events at Hull had run their course, to judge from information given by Lord Digby to Elizabeth of Bohemia, it was originally planned that she should travel in January. The king's action when she did travel, in accompanying her to Dover and even following her ship for four leagues along the coast, demonstrates his concern for her and why he would have been reluctant to go north.[18]

The king and his advisers' apparent inertia and delay in sending the letters to Hull would seem to result from a false confidence on how matters were proceeding. As late as the 21st, Secretary Nicholas wrote to the ambassador in Vienna: 'The Earl of Newcastle is governor of Kingston upon Hull, whereof the townsmen have manifest great affection to the king and excused their not receiving of Sir John Hotham commended to that charge by the parliament'. Similarly, a pamphlet was published about this time entitled 'The opposition made by the inhabitants of Hull against a gentleman and his three hundred men sent by parliament, with the general and free acceptance of the Earl of Newcastle, authorised by his majesty's commissioners to the same effect'. This largely fictitious work has John Hotham departing from Hull and arriving in London, while Newcastle and a train of 500 assistants were 'generally and joyfully received of the inhabitants'.[19]

One reason for this ill-founded optimism in the king's supporters appears to be a mis-interpretation of the townsmen's rejection of John Hotham and their request that parliament should obtain the king's permission for Sir John Hotham's appointment. The townsmen's actions seem to have been interpreted as evidence of support for the king, rather than as the town's assertion of its ancient rights in the face of parliament's challenge. A clue to another possible reason for this optimism is given by Rushworth: 'a strong party bestirred themselves for the earl, with great expectation of the king's royal

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17. *LJ*, iv, pp. 510, 516, 518, 526; *CJ*, ii, pp. 383, 387; *D'Ewes*, 162, fols. 337, 338; Stirling, i. p. 32.
18. *Newcastle*, p. 9; Rushworth, iv, p. 565; *CSPD*, 1641-43, p. 266; L. Aikin, *Memoires of the Court of King Charles the First*, (1833), ii, p. 246; *Memoirs de Madame De Motteville*, ed. M. Petitot, (Paris, 1824).
19. *CSPD*, 1641-43, p. 264; BL, *TT*, E133(16).

favour towards the town thereby'. Sir John Hotham later described the situation he found in the town a few weeks later: 'But the king retaining by much the stronger party in the town made the government too hot for a deputy so I went down... when I got thither I found the town five parts of seven affected to the king'. John Hotham had named three men as being most adverse to Parliament's proposal. Two of these later manifested their royalist inclination by joining that party at the outbreak of civil war. Watkinson became keeper of the royalist magazine at York, and Cartwright was a captain in Newcastle's army. However, Barnard, the mayor, continued in Hull and was involved in the arrest of the Hothams eighteen months later. De la Pryme names two other burgesses, Dobson and Perkins, as famous king's men. It could be surmised that Newcastle and Legge after their low point of the 14th and 15th were heartened by the town's refusal to admit John Hotham and his men. They may then have begun to build a royalist party in the town and this could have led to encouraging reports being dispatched. However, the situation described by Sir John Hotham, writing two years later, of a large royalist party, is not supported by two letters written on 18 January and 4 February by his son. In the first John Hotham states that the greatest part of the town were for his admission. In the second he refers to opposition in the town being encouraged by 'some ill affected people'. Thus it would appear that the royalist party in January 1642, if active, was relatively small. An explanation for the discrepancy between Sir John and his son could be the antagonism generated between the townsmen and the trained bands after John Hotham's admission and before Sir John's arrival.[20]

Parliament's immediate action in confirming its orders, together with the introduction of a personal threat to their chief opponents in the town by ordering them to attend the house, was sufficient to burst the royalist bubble. John Hotham and his men were admitted to the town. De la Pryme indicates that the personal threat to the townsmen was the most potent argument, upon receipt of parliament's order 'the mayor immediately called a townhall [meeting] and there it was concluded to give way to the said order and rather to admit them than to incur such high displeasure and be forced to yield at last'. No doubt the recent execution (11 May 1641), at the behest of parliament, of the Earl of Strafford, the town's High Steward served to concentrate the townsmen's minds.[21]

D'Ewes states that on 24 January Sir John Hotham read to the Commons part of a letter from his son. Although no details of the contents are provided it is likely, given the date, that this letter announced the town's acceptance of the trained bands. Cholmley describes the admission of Hotham: 'the day that he entered with them into the town, there was the greatest sight that ever had been seen or heard of, the water flowing into the market place, so that no man could pass there; which was taken for a strange omen and proved not only fatal to the father and son, but even to the kingdom'. With Hotham at the head of one of the companies of soldiers was Captain Robert Overton, whom fate was to make the last parliamentary governor of Hull in 1660. Newcastle departed from Hull the day Hotham was admitted.[22]

John Hotham was now in control of the town and remained so until his father arrived a few weeks later. Sir John proceeded to bring more of the trained bands into the town, until the garrison reached 800 men. These he described as 'plain country men heartless and heedless of all the duties of soldiers'. The admission of John Hotham and the trained bands did not end the arguments between him and the town. Within a few days of his admission he wrote to his father complaining about the townsmen's unwillingness to

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20. Rushworth, iv, p. 565; Reckitt, pp. 83, 120, 129; De la Pryme, ii, p.. 72; *D'Ewes,* 162, fol. 337.
21. De la Pryme, ii, p. 72.
22. Cholmeley, ii, p. 181; *EHR,* xxii, (1907), p. 312; The sad and suffering case of Major General Rob. Overton, 1659; *D'Ewes,* 162, fol. 357; *DNB,* Robert Overton.

provide billets for his soldiers. John Hotham's response to this situation had been to enforce billeting, which in turn caused the townsmen to prepare a complaint about him to parliament. On 4 February John Hotham wrote a pre-emptive letter to the Speaker, William Lenthall, justifying his actions, first in bringing 400 soldiers into Hull: 'I saw the malignant party so aware, to your order, and so violent the other way, that less forces could not have secured the place'. Secondly, in enforcing the billeting: 'I was put to this exigent either to disband my men to your disexcuse, and scorn, and the loss of the place, or to billet them whither they would or no, yet with the greatest fairness that I could possibly'. The townsmen's action in refusing to billet the trained bands stems not only from an assertion that 'they ought not to have soldiers billeted upon them by the petition of right', but from grievances accumulated during the previous billeting of Sir Thomas Glemham's regiment. Also in view of Hotham's later reputation for arbitrary action, it is probable that, despite his claim of conducting himself with the greatest fairness, he exacerbated the situation. In the meantime the mayor and some aldermen travelled to London, where on 7 February they appeared before the bar of the House of Lords. Asked why they failed to receive Hotham and the trained bands in accordance with parliament's orders they stated that, faced with different commands from king and parliament, they were 'somewhat dubious in their judgements what to do therein'. As the trained bands had been admitted, the Lords dismissed them following their promise to obey parliament's commands in future. They were also required to provide convenient lodgings at reasonable rates for Hotham's soldiers.[23]

Clarendon relates that Newcastle 'made no haste to return upon the summons of the house, but sent to the king to know his pleasure, who, not thinking matters yet ripe enough to make any such declaration, appointed him to come away; upon which he appeared in the house without being asked where he had been'. Certainly, Newcastle's absence from a roll call of the Lords on 9 February, two days after the mayor and townmen attended, could be explained by his seeking clarification from the king. However, on the 14th he petitioned, having attended the house daily, for permission to leave for the country 'for his health sake'. The Lords granted his request, ordering that he surrender the king's commission granted to him to go to Hull.[24]

How the Hull crisis affected the king and parliament was perceptively described by the Venetian ambassador: 'It has served to increase the perturbation of the parliamentary hotheads and affords fresh cause for suspecting that his majesty contemplates further action not calculated for the preservation of the peace. The king also is naturally much perturbed by the incident, which he considers highly prejudicial to his authority, and torn between the circumstances of the time and the most malignant strokes of fortune, he has written the enclosed letter to parliament, full of friendliness and goodwill, but also betraying his own weakness and the fears which compass him about'. Following on his failure to arrest the five members, parliament's success at Hull meant that within three weeks the king had been defeated on two major issues of authority. Clarendon comments the king had fallen 'from a height and greatness that his enemies feared to such a lowness that his own servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him',[25]

On 2 March the king finally travelled north, arrived at York on the 18th and established his court in the city. As this threatened Hull, parliament discussed the removal of the magazine. The Commons pressed that this should be done on parliament's own authority: 'It would be fruitless, as they conceive to send to his majesty: having had so many denials of late to their just demands.' However, the Lords

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23. Reckitt, p. 120; Rushworth, iv, p. 565; *LJ,* iv, pp. 561, 565; *CJ,* ii, p. 410; Clarendon, i, p. 575; Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS, 66, fol. 256; *DNB,* John Hotham; Hull RO, *Letters,* M173.
24. *LJ,* iv, pp. 571, 580, 585; Clarendon, i, p. 523.
25. *CSPV,* 1640-42, p.. 283; Clarendon, i, p. 524.

did not agree and it was decided on 9 April to send a petition to the king. As predicted the king declined his consent stating 'we rather expected (and have done so long) that you should have given us an account why a garrison hath been placed in our town of Hull without our consent'. The king then responded, as he had done in January, with an initiative of his own. On the 23-24 April he went to Hull, in an unsuccessful attempt to force Sir John Hotham to yield the town. When news of the king's action reached parliament, the Lords gave way and agreed to order the removal of the magazine.[26] By 30 May after a series of delays, the bulk of the stores, carried in four ships, arrived at St. Katherine's by the Tower. A small part was retained at Hull for the defence of the town. An inventory of the magazine was taken on its arrival:[27]

List of ordnance and ammunition brought from Hull, May 1642

Pieces of brass ordnance	49	Grenadoes	105
Carriages with shod wheels	40	Barrels of musket bullets	31
Shod wheels more	8	Great cannon shot	1170
Muskets	7238	Other cannon shot	1066
Musket barrels	426	Great shot	432
Swords	3729	Bare hides	1
Pikes	1658	Ladles, sponges & worms	118
Pistols by pairs	300	Veals [water box on wheels]	20
Pistols more	1967	2 chests of horse head pieces	210
Locks for pistols	28	10 chests with horse armour	160
Fat [Vat] of match	58	Mortar pieces	1
Pack of match	4	Bandoliers & fat containing	200
Loose skeins of match	317	Fat of bandoliers	11
Barrels of powder	906	Petards	17
Carbines – with firelock	755	Fat of tents 4 contained	200
– with snaphance	1540	Fat of holsters – pairs	290

Even after the magazine had arrived in London, parliament had difficulty in finding a suitable store. The logical place was the Tower, but when the Commons asked for an assurance from the officers of the Ordnance that the arms would be released on parliament's order, they prevaricated. Consequently, as parliament was not yet willing to widen the breach with the king by replacing the officers, it endeavoured to place the magazine in the custody of its own Lieutenant of the Tower. For some reason this proved impossible and it was decided that the magazine should be stored in various warehouses in the City. Unfortunately, the Lord Mayor of London refused to accept the arms, possibly because of a recent threat from the king to the charter of the City and his own welfare. The Commons overruled him and in July the magazine was finally removed from the ships and laid up in the City. Further supplies arrived from Hull in July and September, the latter consisting of 1000 tents and 850 pistol holsters.[28]

On 20 July parliament ordered that the Committee for the Defence of the Kingdom had power to dispose of the munitions which came from Hull. A week earlier they had commissioned the Earl of Essex as captain-general of their army, with power to raise both horse and foot. It was to these men that the munitions from Hull would be delivered.[29]

The securing of Hull in January 1642 was one of the pivotal actions in the manoeuvering between king and parliament prior to the outbreak of war. The king's lack of resolve at this period led directly to his personal rebuff before the gates of Hull in April. Its possession of the Hull magazine enabled parliament to hold the military advantage during the winter, spring and early summer of 1642. At Edgehill on 23

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26. Reckitt, p. 26; *LJ*, iv, pp. 706, 708, 723; *CJ*, ii, pp. 508, 519, 532, 544, 562.
27. *CJ*, ii, pp. 571, 578, 584, 592, 594; Public Record Office, SP16/490/77.
28. *CJ*, ii, pp. 610, 625, 630, 637, 665, 672, 676, 695, 753; Clarendon, ii, p. 207.
29. *CJ*, ii, p. 683; P. Young, *Edgehill*, (1967), p. 57.

October, parliament's army was well equipped, thanks to Hull, which contrasts with Clarendon's description of the king's army, many of whom 'were unarmed and had only cudgels'. Besides the loss of the magazine, the town of Hull was to prove a constant thorn in the royalist side, so much so that following his defeat of the Fairfaxes at Adwalton Moor, in June 1643, Newcastle allowed himself to become distracted from an advance into East Anglia by a siege of Hull. This fruitless siege marks the start of Newcastle's decline of fortune, which led ultimately to the defeat of his army at Marston Moor in July 1644.[30]

Acknowledgements

To Hull City Council and the Public Records Office for permission to reproduce the townsmen's letter and the list of munitions respectively. See notes 12 and 27.

30. Clarendon, ii. p. 353.

ORMESBY HALL, CLEVELAND

By Lynn F. Pearson

Ormesby Hall, situated 3 miles to the south of Middlesbrough, Cleveland, was the home of the Pennyman family from about 1600 until 1961 when it was bequeathed to the National Trust by Lt. Col. J. B. W. Pennyman. John Graves, the historian of Cleveland, wrote in 1808 that 'Ormesby Hall, the Seat of Sir James Pennyman, Bart. is a neat modern mansion, built by Mrs. Pennyman, daughter of Archbishop Wake'.[1] He gives neither a definite date for the construction of the house nor an architect's name; this paper reports on research which has enabled suggestions as to both date and architect to be made.

The new Hall was built just to the north-west of the original hall, the oldest part of which dates from about 1600. This building, a hall house with later additions, making it a quadrangle round an open courtyard, was used as the service wing for the new Hall. This article deals only with the building of the new Hall, omitting the construction of the original hall and the alterations to the new Hall carried out about 1772, probably by John Carr.

Ormesby Hall is a three-storey, five-bay Jurassic sandstone house, with a pediment spanning three bays and enclosing the Pennyman coat of arms (Plate I). Its style may be described as Palladian, but for the hipped roof.[2] The outer face of the roof is covered by slates, the inner face being pantiled with red tiles. The roof is now leaded with a skylight, but originally was probably ridged. The sandstone of the Hall has weathered in places to black, but the fine parallel tooling of much of the stonework is still visible. The only decorative elements in the facade are two string courses between ground and first-floor windows, a splayed architrave surrounding the central first-floor window, and a cornice with dentil moulding.

There has been little discussion of the architectural history of the Hall. Oswald suggests only that a similar type of house was fairly common in Yorkshire well into the 1750s.[3] Pevsner concludes that the house may have been built about 1740-1750, from the evidence of the decorative work in the entrance hall.[4] Although many of the family papers have been preserved, none of them relate to the building of the house and the only other evidence comes from the *Pennyman Records,* a family history produced by James Worsley Pennyman in 1904.[5] The *Records* state that the Hall was begun by James Pennyman (1694-1743), eldest son of the third baronet, and finished by his wife Dorothy Wake, the finance probably coming from the Wake family.[6] The *Records* make no mention of an architect.

Dorothy Wake (1699-1754), the daughter of William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, married James Pennyman in 1722. William Wake was born in Dorset and

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1. John Graves, *The history of Cleveland* (Carlisle, 1808, reprinted Stockton-on-Tees, 1972), p. 442.
2. Personal communication with Howard Colvin, 24 May 1987.
3. Arthur Oswald, 'Ormesby Hall, Yorkshire', *Country Life* 125 (1959), p. 413.
4. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire The North Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 276.
5. J. W. Pennyman, *Records of the family of Pennyman of Ormesby* (York, 1904), subsequently referred to as Pennyman Records. The Pennyman Papers are kept at the Cleveland County Archives Department, Middlesbrough (CCAD), and the reference is U/PEN.
6. Pennyman Records, pp. 2, 7, 130.



Plate I. The north front of Ormesby Hall *(Photo L. F. Pearson)*

inherited a fortune from his father.[7] He was ordained after leaving Christ Church, Oxford, made a canon in Exeter in 1703, Bishop of Lincoln in 1705 and Archbishop of Canterbury in January 1716.[8] He had no sons, but six daughters of whom Dorothy was the fourth and the only one who married a husband from the north of England.[9] Archbishop Wake's diary shows that various members of the Pennyman family dined frequently at the Archbishop's house both before and for at least two years after the marriage, but unfortunately the diary stops in early 1725.[10] The Archbishop died in January 1737, leaving over £100,000, but his will, apart from a few references to pictures and furnishings in a partial copy at Lambeth Palace, has proved to be untraceable.[11] Dorothy is referred to as a co-heiress in the *Pennyman Records,* and this would seem to be a reasonable assumption.[12] If this was the case, James and Dorothy Pennyman would have received a considerable sum of money soon after Wake's death, perhaps around 1740 allowing for the usual delays in the proving of a will, particularly one involving a large sum of money.

The cost of Ormesby Hall may have been around £3500. This sum is arrived at by using the average costs suggested by Robert Morris for houses built in the mid-

7. *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1766), 6, p. 4083.
8. Dictionary of National Biography, 20, p. 445.
9. *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1766), 6, p. 4097.
10. Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), MS 1770, Diary of Archbishop Wake, folio 252.
11. *Gentleman's Magazine* 7 (1737), p. 61; LPL, MS 1169, extracts from Archbishop Wake's will, folio 34. The will is not in the PCC and cannot be traced by either LPL or the Kent County Archives Office.
12. Pennyman Records pedigree.

eighteenth century.[13] Dorothy's portion of the inheritance might have been between £10,000 and £20,000, thus making it possible for new building to take place. An extra impetus may have come from the fact that Archbishop Wake was well known for his building activities, as he had spent large sums of money on public buildings in each diocese where he had been in office. He had built in Exeter, Lincoln and Croydon, and had the Archbishop of Canterbury's palaces surveyed for repairs immediately he was made Archbishop. By 1732, repairs had cost him about £11,000, 'a prodigious sum'.[14] Wake was also head of the second New Churches Commission, which brought him into contact with current architectural ideas and architects seeking appointment.[15] Colen Campbell had hoped for patronage from the Commission, and in order to further his chances published a church design dedicated to Wake in the second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus,* published in 1717[16]. Wake may have had some contact with Burlington, through the Boyle lectures which had been founded by the will of Robert Boyle (1627-91).[17] Trustees were nominated to oversee the selection of a lecturer, who was required to give eight lectures in defence of the Christian religion.

The previous archbishop had been a trustee, and in 1711 had nominated Burlington, amongst others. Wake was never a trustee, as they could only be nominated when one trustee survived, and this was not the case again until 1750, by which time Wake was dead. However, as the lectures were apparently of some importance it might be inferred that some contact took place between Archbishop Wake and Burlington in his capacity as trustee.[18]

Thus Dorothy brought not only her money north, but a family tradition of building and some vicarious experience of new architectural ideas. It would seem, therefore, that the attributions of Ormesby Hall to Dorothy Pennyman as having finished the building or even, as Graves states, built it, might be correct. A date of about 1740 for the start of construction seems reasonable, given the date of William Wake's death, 1737, and the design of the building. It is known that James Pennyman was still living at nearby Normanby in 1737, but by 1739 he had moved to Ormesby.[19] This could indicate that he had moved into the old hall prior to the commencement of building work, or that construction of the new Hall had begun. The parklands to the north of the hall had been let on a four-year lease in 1736, and as the house was still under construction when James died in 1743, perhaps the overall building dates might be 1740-1745.[20]

Even if a date of around 1740 is accepted for the start of construction of Ormesby Hall, there is still the question of the name of the architect, if indeed one existed. In order to obtain a design for the new Hall, the Pennymans could have chosen one of four methods: used a local builder, taken a design from a pattern book, designed it themselves, or used an architect. Clearly the methods overlap, but had a local builder been employed, then other houses in the neighbourhood might be expected to bear similarities, and this is not the case. The use of a pattern book would appear more likely, but the Hall was built in the years before the greatest output of pattern books occurred from 1780 onwards. Between 1780 and 1815 more than 30 books containing country house designs were published in England.[21] The books which were published early enough to have influenced the design of Ormesby, for example *Vitruvius Britannicus* or James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture,* tended to contain designs which were far more decorative than the Hall as

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13. Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *Country houses and their owners in Hertfordshire, 1540-1879* in William O. Aydelotte et al (eds.), *The dimensions of quantitative research in history* (London, 1972), p. 104. The calculation has been made on the basis of 78.5 units for the Hall, using modern plans.
14. Henry Mills, *An essay on the generosity and greatness of spirit* (London, 1732), pp. 53-4; Dictionary of National Biography, 20, p. 446.
15. T. P. Connor, 'The making of 'Vitruvius Britannicus'', *Architectural History* 20 (1977), p. 24.
16. Ibid., p. 20; Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717), 2, p. 2, Pl. 27.
17. E. G. W. Bill, *A catalogue of manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 2341-3119* (Oxford, 1983), p. 125.
18. LPL, MS 2958, Boyle Lectures.
19. CCAD, U/PEN 5/45, 5/48.
20. CCAD, U/PEN 5/44.
21. Sandra Blutman, 'Books of designs for country houses', *Architectural History* 11 (1968), p. 25.

built, and far larger.[22] It is also theoretically possible that James Pennyman designed the Hall himself, but as there is no record of any prior interest in building on the part of the Pennymans, nor any record of grand tours undertaken by James, this seems unlikely. Intriguingly, it is far more likely that Dorothy Pennyman had some say in the design, and the detailed references to fittings in the house, such as brass locks and marble chimney pieces, contained in her will indicate that she took a more than usual interest in her home.[23] Dorothy and her money may well have provided the idea for the Hall and the funds to build it, but because of its Palladian style and unusual design for the area it is probable that an architect was called in to produce a plan, although this may have been altered by James and Dorothy or the builders during construction.

Many architects have been suggested as the designer of Ormesby Hall, including Henry Flitcroft, James Paine and Thomas Ripley, but none of these have any apparent connections with the Pennymans or the Cleveland area. One serious possibility, however, is the gentleman architect Colonel James Moyser of Beverley, a distant relative and probable acquaintance of the Pennyman family. Moyser was born about 1688 and spent his early life in the Army, receiving his commission as Captain in Sir Charles Hotham's Regiment of Foot in 1705. The Regiment had recently been raised in Yorkshire.[24] Moyser served in Spain and reached the rank of Colonel in 1710, still being in the Army in 1715, when he was in the First Regiment of Foot Guards.[25] Ralph Pennyman, fifth son of the third baronet and brother of James, was in the Second Foot, the Queen's Regiment, from 1721 as an Ensign; he left before 1727, married and settled in Beverley.[26] It is not clear whether the Army service of Ralph Pennyman and Moyser would have brought them into contact with each other. After Moyser left the Army he returned to Beverley, where he lived until his death in 1751.[27]

The Moyser family were well known in Beverley, the Colonel's father, John Moyser, having been M.P. for the town with Sir Charles Hotham, fourth baronet, in 1705-8.[28] James Moyser, a valued member of Burlington's Yorkshire circle, was distantly related to the Pennyman family through his father's second marriage to Catherine Hotham, widow of Sir John Hotham and father of the fourth baronet[29]. The marriage of Warton Pennyman Warton (who became the fifth baronet in the Pennyman line) and Charlotta Hotham, daughter of the fourth baronet, Sir Charles Hotham, in 1725 makes the connection between the two families.[30] Although the relationship is clearly distant, it is unlikely that in any small community such as Beverley there would have been no social contact between two families of the same class and interests. In addition, the homes of the Warton and Moyser families, the two largest houses in Beverley, were situated within 100 yards of each other; Mary Warton married James Pennyman, third baronet, in 1692, her eldest son being the builder of Ormesby Hall.[31]

Moyser is known to have visited Burlington at Londesborough, and was a good friend

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22. James Gibbs, *A book of architecture* (London, 1728, reprinted New York, 1968).
23. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (BIHR), York Probate Register, 99, folio 65, will of Dorothy Pennyman.
24. Howard Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects 1600-1840* (London, 1978), subsequently referred to as Colvin, 1978, p. 565; personal communication with Howard Colvin, 12 February 1987; Charles Dalton (ed.), *English Army lists and commission registers 1661-1716* (London, 1892), subsequently referred to as Dalton, 1892, 5, p. 192.
25. Dalton, 1892, 6, p. 181; Charles Dalton, *George the First's Army 1714-1727* (London, 1910), subsequently referred to as Dalton, 1910, 1, p. 125.
26. Dalton, 1910, 2, p. 276; Pennyman records pedigree.
27. Colvin, 1978, p. 565; BIHR, York Probate Register, 95, folio 215, will of James Moyser.
28. Colvin, 1978, p.. 565; Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715-1754* (London, 1970), 2, pp. 151-2.
29. Derek Linstrum, *West Yorkshire architects and architecture* (London, 1978), p. 29; Colvin, 1978, p. 565; Peter Roebuck, *Yorkshire baronets 1640-1760* (Oxford, 1980), subsequently referred to as Roebuck, 1980, p. 373.
30. Pennyman Records pedigree.
31. Keith Miller et al, *Beverley* (London, 1982), p. 88; Elizabeth Hall (ed.), *Michael Warton of North Bar, Beverley* (Hull, 1986), p. 5.

of Ralph Allen of Prior Park, Bath.[32] Allen had given a home to the poet and landscape gardener Alexander Pope for much of the final eight years of his life, between 1736 and 1744.[33] Pope knew Moyser, who is often referred to in correspondence between Pope and his close friend Hugh Bethel, the M.P. for Pontefract.[34] Pope, of course, also knew Burlington who was highly influential in Yorkshire architecture. Burlington's patronage of Colen Campbell and friendship with Sir Charles Hotham, fourth baronet, possibly led to the building of Hotham's Beverley house in 1716-17 to a design by Campbell.[35] The Pennyman family were thus probably acquainted with the artistic and political circle around Burlington through their distant relationship with Moyser and their participation in the social life of Beverley.

James Moyser appears to have been active as an architect during the 1730s and 1740s, although little is known of his style other than its tendency towards a plain Palladian. He is known to have designed only a few buildings, and none of his drawings have yet been found.[36] It is clearly possible that he might have been consulted when the Wake money became available and the idea of a new Ormesby Hall was mooted, being a local gentleman architect known to the Pennyman family. Moyser's first known work was to design Bretton Hall, Yorkshire in about 1730, possibly in conjunction with its owner, Moyser's close friend Sir William Wentworth.[37] The Hall is a large, plain Palladian box, its only similarity to Ormesby being the string courses between ground and first floors.[38] Moyser's next work was Nostell Priory, c.1737, where he appears to have provided the plan and then left the building work in the hands of the young James Paine. Either Burlington or Moyser may have been behind the recommendation of Paine to Sir Rowland Winn.[39] The prominent hipped roof without balustrade or parapet is present at both Nostell Priory and Ormesby Hall.[40] In 1741 Moyser provided plans for a house at Gunthwaite, near Barnsley, for Godfrey Bosvile, son-in-law of Sir William Wentworth. The house was not built, but Moyser describes it in a letter to Bosvile as having a facade of 'great and regular simplicity', adorned with columns, and suggests that it will be 'the most convenient, the handsomest and the cheapest of any House in Yorkshire'.[41] Moyser's only other executed work is Anne Routh's Hospital at Beverley, erected in 1749 by Thomas Wrightson 'to a plan drawn by Mr. Moyser'.[42] The building has a three-bay, two-storey facade with a large pediment stretching across all three bays and containing a cartouche.

If the case for Moyser's involvement with Ormesby rested solely on the likelihood of his social and family connections with the Pennymans, then it would be tenuous, albeit still reasonable. There is, however, one further building for which Moyser provided a plan, Stephen Thompson's house, Kirby Hall, Ouseburn, about ten miles north-west of York. By November 1746 Thompson had received the first draft of the plan from Moyser, but although he wrote that Moyser's plan 'has the no and size and disposition of rooms just as I could wish', Thompson persisted in changing the plan until it 'will not

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32. Chatsworth House, Lord Burlington's correspondence, 127/10, letter dated 28 September 1735 mentions Colonel Moyser's arrival at the house; BIHR, York Probate Register, 95, folio 215, will of James Moyser, codicil dated 18 August 1749 mentions 'my most worthy friend Ralph Allen of Prior Park' to whom Moyser leaves all the books he wants.
33. I. R. F. Gordon, *A preface to Pope* (London, 1976), p. 24.
34. George Sherburn (ed.), *The correspondence of Alexander Pope* (Oxford, 1956), 4, pp. 40, 269, 446.
35. Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull (BJ), DDHA 14/26, Harford (Holme) MSS, letter dated 12 August 1724 mentions Sir Charles Hotham staying at Londesborough with Burlington and his wife; Colvin, 1978, p. 184.
36. Colvin, 1978, pp. 565-6.
37. List of houses found in copy of the *Builder's Dictionary* (1734), held by the Metropolitan Museum, New York, my thanks to Eileen Harris for providing me with a copy of this list; BJ, DDBM 32/8, note on letter from Moyser to Godfrey Bosvile.
38. Arthur Oswald, 'Bretton Park, Yorkshire', *Country Life* 83 (1938), pp. 530-5, 554-9.
39. Peter Leach, lecture on James Paine to York Georgian Society, 17 January 1987.
40. Personal communication with Howard Colvin, 24 May 1987.
41. BJ, DDBM 32/8; Gervase Jackson-Stops, *Nostell Priory* (London, 1982), p. 29.
42. *YAS Record Series* 122, pp. xvii, 30.

be unlike Sir C. Hotham's in Beverley excepting the additions', and eventually Moyser's plan was either dropped or modified out of all recognition.[43] Moyser had advised that Roger Morris be consulted, and Morris indeed promised to call at Kirby in May 1747. The outcome was a house built to the owner's plan, with elevation by Burlington and Morris.[44] Crucially, Moyser's contribution to the final elevation as published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1771 is unknown.[45] The elevation has great similarities to that of the north facade of Ormesby Hall; the main block is the same size (five-bay, three-storey), the string courses are identical, the central first-floor window has a splayed architrave surround, there is a dentil cornice and a three bay pediment containing a coat of arms. The main differences are the presence of two-storey side extensions and a pyramidal roof, typically Palladian, together with a decorated porch in the centre of the ground floor. However, the overall effect is one of great likeness. It is clearly possible that the original drawings provided by Moyser in 1746 contained an elevation, which was later altered by Morris and Burlington, resulting in the elevation as illustrated. There is, however, no documentary evidence for this theory.

The likelihood of Moyser's involvement with Ormesby is increased only in that he seems to have had a part in the design of a very similar facade some years after the construction of Ormesby Hall, but given that no other houses have been found which exhibit such strong similarities with Ormesby, it becomes a stronger possibility that Moyser did act in some advisory capacity to the Pennyman family. Even if Moyser did provide the original plan, doubtless this was altered by the family, quite possibly by Dorothy, as building took place, and the details of the building work could have been left to local builders. The design of the Hall, if produced by Moyser, does not lead to any revision of his status as a competent amateur architect.[46] It is, however, possible that the suggestion of a construction date of 1740-1745 for the Hall, and of James Moyser as the architect, may provoke further investigation of his work in Yorkshire.

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43. Humberside County Record Office (HCRO), DDGR 41/3, letter dated 22 November 1746, DDGR 41/4, letter dated 11 December 1746, DDGR 41/5, letter dated 3 January 1747.
44. HCRO, DDGR 41/4, letter dated 11 December 1746.
45. John Woolfe and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1771), Pl. 71.
46. Colvin, 1978, p. 566.

ACKWORTH HOSPITAL
1757 – 1773

By Beatrice Scott

INTRODUCTION: THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL

England was behind the other European countries in providing shelter for orphans and abandoned children. From the twelfth century onwards the cities of Rome, Lisbon, Madrid, Florence, Paris, Amsterdam, Haarlem and other places, had made such provision. There had been several attempts made in this direction in England. When Edward VI founded Christ's Hospital in 1552 it was intended to take in infants as well as older children. There was an outcry in the parish lest these abandoned infants obtained a settlement and thus became a charge on the parish. This was something which was to haunt the Governors of the Foundling Hospital, creating great prejudice against them. Eventually Christ's Hospital became a grammar school admitting no more infants.

Captain Thomas Coram, when he walked from Rotherhithe to London, was distressed by the numbers of infants abandoned to die by the roadside. Coram's father, after his second marriage, left Ottery St. Mary to settle in Hackney. In 1679, Thomas was sent to sea at the age of eleven. Five years later he was apprenticed to a shipwright in the parish of St. Botolph's without Aldgate, the parish of Dr. Bray, the founder of the SPCK. He spent some years in America, returning to England in 1704. After his retirement from business in 1719 he devoted his life to philanthropy. There was already a movement towards helping these abandoned children. Addison wrote an article in the Guardian in 1713, Thomas Bray had written a pamphlet on the subject,[1] Robert Nelson (also a SPCK member) wrote his 'Address to Persons of Quality and Estate' in which he advocated hospitals for incurables, and special hospitals for specific diseases, the founding of Theological Colleges and 'Blackguard Schools'. These latter were for the abandoned children of impoverished parents and prostitutes.

Coram was not a wealthy man but he conceived the idea of a society modelled on the system of a joint stock company which would have subscribers and be able to receive legacies. There was a great prejudice against the illegitimate child, but this was less amongst the nobility, who had the means to bring up their own natural children with the rest of the family or to make a special provision for them.

Coram, petitioning the King for a Charter, stated that

> "... many Ladies of Quality and distinction, in compassion for the miseries attending the Birth of many poor Children whose Parents are either unwilling to own or unable to maintain them, have begun a subscription towards creating and supporting a Hospital for the Reception and proper Education of such cast-off children or Foundlings" (The Petition was signed by 21 aristocratic ladies)[2]

John Brownlow, a child of the Hospital who rose to be the Secretary, wrote in his *Chronicles of the Foundling Hospital* (1847),

> 'Infanticide rose out of a morbid morality then possessing the public mind by

1. A Memorial concerning the erecting in the City of London or the suburbs thereof an Orphanotrophy or Hospital for the Reception of Poor Cast-off Children or Foundlings.
2. McClure 1981; Nichols and Wray 1935, p. 16.

> which an unhappy female who fell victim to the seduction and false promises of designing men was left to hopeless contumely and irretrievable disgrace. Neither she nor the offspring of her guilt appear to have been admitted within the pale of human compassion.'[3]

After seventeen years of unceasing work, Coram was able to establish his 'darling Project', the Foundling Hospital, in temporary rented property in Hatton Garden. The Hospital opened on 25 March, 1741. The foundlings left at the Reception were all infants and no enquiries were to be made about the mother's identity, but tokens or some kind of identification of the child had to be left in the event of the child being claimed at some future date. Descriptions of the tokens and clothing were meticulously recorded and varied from "A cambrick ruffed shirt" or "a pair of white brocaded shoes tied with a white ribband" to "paper on chest, clout on head".[4]

(In later years a banker from the North wrote to enquire about his origins to be told that he had been left totally naked in the basket at the gate.)

The children were baptised free by the Rev. Mr. Smith, a friend of Coram's. The choice of name presented some problems. For the first hundred years there was always a Thomas and Eunice Coram in the Hospital (as there was subsequently also a Rowland Winn at Ackworth). The aristocratic families stood sponsor and lent their names; those of Protestant heroes from Luther and Huss to Wycliffe, Latimer and Cranmer, of poets, admirals, soldiers, painters and sculptors from Michelangelo to Godfrey Kneller, and even names of characters from fiction were used. In later years the practice stopped when it was realised that the Foundlings believed themselves to have a blood relationship with the true owner of their name.

The Governors decided to build a Hospital, which would be capable of expansion by stages, to the design of Theodore Jacobsen (a Governor of the Hospital), an architect of German origin from the Steelyard. The Hospital was to be situated at the edge of London 'gainst Ormond Street'. The Governors were horrified to find that instead of providing a solution to the problem of the Foundlings, they were overwhelmed by the numbers of infants brought to them for succour – the majority of whom had to be turned away.

The Governors, besides employing an apothecary at the Hospital, wrote to the College of Physicians for advice on infant feeding, and were recommended breast milk. This meant the importation of large numbers of wet-nurses. It was decided that the children would stand a better chance of survival if they were boarded out in the country for the first years of their lives. This meant that the wet-nurses from the country had to travel to the Hospital to collect their infant charges and bring them to their homes. It was in the Hospital Charter that neither the children nor the employees of the Hospital would obtain a settlement in the parish, nor would the parish officers have any control over the children.

The Governors felt it incumbent upon them to take children of the armed forces who were without means of support. In 1760 there was an affidavit sworn by Margaret Walker, widow of a Sheffield cutler, who had been employed by the "agitant" of the Stuarts regiment at a camp in Germany. The Marquis of Granby gave her four ducats to take Jane Brown, aged 18 months, to the Foundling Hospital. Her father had been killed at the battle of Minden and her widowed mother had died three weeks later.

> "The child had no legal settlement in any place nor any provision made for her."[5]

By 1755 the Governors found that they had to turn away more than two thirds of the

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3. Nichols and Wray, p. 14.
4. McClure, p. 81.
5. Foundling Hospital Minute Book.

children brought to them on admission days; they therefore sought for ways of increasing their funds. As a number of them were MPs it was decided to petition Parliament for assistance:

> "... That to render said Hospital of lasting and general utility the assistance of Parliament is necessary.
> "... That to render the said Hospital of general Utility and Effect it should be enabled to appoint proper Places in all Counties, Ridings or Divisions of this Kingdom for the Reception of all exposed or deserted young children."[6]

Parliament resolved to grant £10,000 from June to 31 December 1756. But this was to have disastrous consequences for the Hospital because of a clause stipulating that they had to admit *all* children under the age specified by the Governors. Instead of an anticipated five hundred extra children being admitted in one year, they were arriving at the rate of three hundred a month.

THE COUNTRY HOSPITALS

These were the circumstances that necessitated the founding of Ackworth, Shrewsbury, Chester, Aylesbury and Barnet Hospitals. The Governors were quite right in their belief that there should be Hospitals all over the country, but they had not the means fully to carry out such an ambitious scheme. The climate of public opinion was still very much against helping these abandoned children, who were not all illegitimate by any means. Often they had simply been abandoned by their parents in times of extreme hardship in the country areas. The forced centralizing of all admissions in London with the subsequent dispersal of the children to the country must have militated against the survival of the infants, as well as adding to the expense. There were also certain social systems of the time which they could do nothing to overcome. There was for example no recognised form of legal adoption – and all the children needed a settlement certificate, not something eagerly accorded since all relief and charity was centred on the parishes which were financially responsible for the maintainance of the illegitimate within their boundaries. This system, which had begun as a safety-net to protect the destitute, soon made it the aim of all parish officers to keep as many of the unfortunates as possible outside their boundaries. The Foundling Hospital Governors had the aim of saving as many children as possible, and even with their often disastrously high death-rate, they never equalled the fearful 100 per cent record of certain parish workhouses.

Children had already been sent into the country as far afield as Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Hampshire, as well as the Home Counties. The Rev. Thomas Trant, curate of Bolton-on-Dearne and Headmaster of Archbishop Holgate's School at Hemsworth, was taking foundlings from London as early as 1741. In the Committee minutes of 18 February 1741, Mr. Taylor White was asked to write to the Rev. Mr. Trant to ask if he could provide nurses in his neighbourhood for ten to twelve children at 8*s* a month. On 21 March, Taylor White was "desired to pay the Rev. Mr. Trant £10 on account for the charges for seven nurses sent from Doncaster to London."[7]

Thomas Trant was the son of Gabriel Trant of Lowther. He was admitted Sizar (1716) and Rustat Scholar (1718) at Jesus College, Cambridge, and ordained priest at York in 1725. He was a pluralist, being Rector of Holdenby, Northants (1739-59) as well as curate of Bolton-on-Dearne. When he died in 1759, Dr. Lee took over his two apprentices for household services. It has not been possible to trace the connection with the Foundling Hospital that made him take infants into the Hemsworth area as early as 1740.

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6. McClure, p. 79.
7. Foundling Hospital Minute Book.

The Hospital had a system of Inspectors who chose suitable women willing to be foster-mothers, paid them their weekly money, supplied the children's clothing (and returned it to the Hospital if the children died). Thomas Trant was an Inspector in the Hemsworth area. He said he would have the children taught to read, although he did not seem to take his duties as Headmaster particularly seriously. He was, by his own admission, charged with teaching the schoolboys Latin and Greek, but claimed that none reached the standard required to learn those languages. Reading and writing, on the other hand were taught by the Master – whom he paid![8]

As early as 1746 there were tentative plans to build a Hospital in Yorkshire, and Sir Rowland Winn of Nostell Priory, was asked to consent to his name being put forward for election as a Governor to the Foundling Hospital, and to recommend other local gentlemen who would also be willing to stand. In December, Sir Rowland Winn, Sir George Dalton, Sir John Ramsden of Byrom and Mr. Osbaldeston were elected.[9]

After the influx of children it was more than ever necessary to go ahead with the plans for Country Hospitals. In February 1757, Sir Rowland was authorised to make an offer for Jonathan Seaton's estate at Ackworth. He wrote:

> "... There is a good stone house containing three large rooms on the ground floor, the same above, also a good back kitchen, a cellar etc., also a long stone barn which, at moderate expense, might be fitted up so as to contain 20 beds in the chamber and as many below, or it may be made into a dining room.[10]

In March 1757 more Governors were appointed, including The Marquis of Rockingham of Wentworth Woodhouse, Viscount Irwin of Temple Newsam, Sir William Lowther of Swillington and the Rev. Timothy Lee DD., rector of Ackworth. An architect named Watson (presumably John Watson junior of Wakefield), was employed to draw up plans for the enlargement of the Hospital by a centre building with two wings – much influenced by the ideas of Timothy Lee, who worked unceasingly for the Hospital.

The great Yorkshire engineer, John Smeaton, presented two plans for the water supply. One drew water from a well in Bell Close, using an engine that would raise 78 Gallons an hour and carry that supply 2,104 feet – at a cost of £193. The plan accepted was for a pump worked by one man which could raise 312 gallons an hour over a distance of 300 feet, at a cost of £64![11]

On 3 August 1758, London wrote to Dr. Lee approving the plans and elevations. And by 3 November 1760 Dr. Lee was able to write to London:

> "... For their expedition, on Wednesday we shall make our workmen happy at ye Hospital; in the morning they command my beagles & in the afternoon in Ye Boys' Dining Room in Ye centre, when the clock strikes 5 we will send you all our good wishes in bumpers."[12]

The first children arrived in Ackworth in 1758. An advertisement had been placed in a York paper for a –

> "... master, middle-aged man with no family, unblemished character, able to teach children to read and write if necessary, write a good hand and keep accounts – also Matron to assist Master, see children are kept clean, rise at proper hours, instruct in catechism, to prevent waste of provisions, clothing and furniture – see house is kept clean and servants do their duty. Governors will attend for interviews first

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8. Y.A.S.R.S., *Archbishop Herring's Visitation,* I, pp. 72-3, III, pp. 45-6, for Hemsworth and Bolton on Dearne.
9. Nichols and Wray, p. 162.
10. Ibid., p. 164.
11. Thompson 1879, pp. 3-4.
12. Nichols and Wray, p. 165.

> Thursday in June, nine o'clock in the forenoon. No objection to a man and wife who are fit and have no dependent children"[13]

Mr. and Mrs. Hargreaves were appointed at a salary of £40 per annum: they gave the Hospital and the children at Ackworth the most devoted service. The governors had the highest opinion of Robert Hargreaves, who died in 1772 – a year before the Hospital closed, – and his son was appointed in his stead. A schoolmaster was also engaged at £12 a year.

The children over five years old who had been sent from London first lived in the old farm house. The Ackworth Committee resolved in September 1758 that "... wheels, cards and other instruments to be provided for children to be employed in woollen manufactory."[14] Relatives of Robert Hargreaves helped to instruct the children in carding, spinning and weaving.

In April 1760, Sir Rowland Winn wrote from Nostell to the Secretary in London, Thomas Collingwood, saying he was pleased that the committee approved of the cloth –

> "which contains more wool which is much dearer than last year and is well worth 3/- a yard. The price of wool, weaving & dying and dressing etc is 1/9 per yd, which leaves 1/3 per yard for the children's work. The undertaking has surpassed the expectations of even the most sanguine members of the committee."[15]

In the December of the same year they received a most interesting commission viz. –

"Turk's Head Tavern, Decemr. 7th 1760

We whose Names are hereunto subscribed do
agree to appear next 5th Novemr. at the Artists' Feast
at the Foundlings Hospital in Lambs Conduit Fields, in a suit of
Cloths manufactured by the Children of the Hospital
at Ackworth in Yorkshire – to be all of one Colour &
that they be made in Yorkshire – "
(There follow 43 signatures)[16]

In one sense the Foundling Hospital almost became the "Arts Centre" of London. William Hogarth, a friend of Coram and a Governor, designed the shield (Moses in the Bullrushes) to be set over the gate, and also designed the Children's uniform. He persuaded fellow artists to present pictures to hang in the Great Hall of the Hospital, which in consequence became the first Art Gallery in London. George Frederick Handel took an interest in the Hospital. He came from the town of Halle where Professor Francke had founded his Orphan House, which was visited by John Wesley in 1738 and which possibly served George Whitefield as the model for the Orphan House in Bethesda, Georgia, which he subsequently bequeathed to the Countess of Huntington. It is perhaps surprising that the Governors took as their model the Papist institution, L'Hôpital des Enfants-Trouvés in Paris. Handel composed the anthem for the Hospital ("Blessed is he that considereth the Poor"), left them a copy of "Messiah", and raised over £7000 for the Hospital with the concerts he gave there. When Dr. Lee wrote to ask if the children at Ackworth could learn music he was somewhat surprisingly told by the Committee that only utilitarian skills were appropriate for 'charity children'. In 1774, Dr. Charles Burney and Felice de' Giardini, a celebrated violinist (and a Governor)

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13. PS.
14. PS
15. PS.
16. Nichols and Wray, p. 167. The signatories are headed by Christopher and John Seaton, and include William Chambers, Richard Dalton, Francis Hayman, Henry Morland, George Michael Moser, James Paine, Joshua Reynolds, Edward Rooker, Louis Francois Roubiliac, William Ryland, Paul Sandby, Samuel Wale, Richard Wilson, Joseph Wilton, Richard Yeo and John Zoffany.

approached the hospital with a scheme for a National Music School. To Dr. Burney's great disappointment the vote in support was rescinded by the General Committee. In fact, however, the Governors paid the assistant organist to teach a blind boy the organ and several girls became singers.

SOME PROBLEMS

There was what might almost be described as a dichotomy among the Governors: they wanted to do the best they could for the children, yet they were reluctant to give to bastards the advantages denied to many legitimate children. Perhaps they were unduly sensitive to the criticism that the very existence of the Foundling Hospital and the saving of abandoned children was the condoning of vice if not the actual encouragement of loose living.

During the era of the General Reception it was difficult to recruit inspectors to supervise the children's nurses. By and large the Committee members and the Governors themselves were not anxious to take on the work, and they depended on local gentry, clergy and doctors. Frequently they were forced to resort to small shopkeepers who sometimes cheated the nurses! On the whole there was very little trouble from the nurses who became very fond of their charges. A number of them wanted to keep the children in their own families, and since there was no system for legal adoption they had to be 'apprenticed' to the foster father or mother to give them right to a settlement certificate. The nurses themselves had to be the holder of a 'Certificate of Recommendation' in the following words:

> "We do recommend to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital at Ackworth, the bearer _____ , Inhabitant of_____ , as an honest sober and industrious woman, and a fit person to be a nurse to a Child of your Hospital, and one who receives no relief from the Parish. Signed _____ , Minister, Churchwarden, Inhabitant."[17]

On 15 November 1759, the sub-committee from London sent a letter to each Inspector stating that:

> "... no nurse that has one sucking child under her care shall have no other sucking child until the former is weaned & produce a certificate from the Inspector to say her milk is yet good. A nurse who has a dry nurse child under her care that cannot go alone, shall have no other child of this Hospital until the former child can go alone. A nurse employed by one Inspector shall not be employed by another Inspector without a certificate of good behaviour."[18]

Mr. Hargreaves wrote to Mr. Collingwood that "he was not able to say at what expense 'ideots' can be kept out of (the) Hospital. They had paid 2s a week for Nancy Miller with clothes found, but the nurse was tired of keeping her for that price. If ideots are quiet, probably the price is alright, but if they are very mischievous few would keep them at any reasonable price."[19] Those who were mentally or physically unable to earn their own living by the age of twenty-one, were kept by the hospital for the whole of their lifetime.

Letters went back and forth to London within the space of two or three days. Low's at Ferrybridge appeared to be the place where documents and letters could be left for dispatch or collection. At that time Ferrybridge was one of the most important junctions on the Great North Road: many rode from Leeds to catch the Mail Coach there. The Foundling children and their nurses were not among their number, however. They

17. PS.
18. PS.
19. PS.

travelled more tediously by carrier's cart. (The ever-ingenious Dr. Lee designed a special caravan with a hammock within, but the exact details of the design are unknown.) The journey took between seven to eight days and was not even undertaken in Winter. When large numbers resulted from the General Reception, children were sent to the country hospitals when they were not really strong enough for the rigours of the journey. There was a lamentable increase in infant mortality.

And there were other travelling problems. In July 1759, Dr. Lee wrote to the Treasurer, Mr. Taylor White, to say that they had difficulty with the non-arrival of children and that he had lent his mare to Mr. Grant to supervise the collection of children. "The driver having been inspired by drink and vertico (sic) drove thro' Kingston without stopping to pick up the children. When persued by Mr. Grant, the driver was insolent and abusive and threatened to strike Mr. Grant. He did not consider the driver a proper officer."[20]

The troubles of the Foundling Hospitals grew year by year as their unpopularity increased and subscriptions declined. This led inevitably to an increasing dependence on Government grants. Moreover, the fathers of illegitimate offspring or the officials of parishes regarded the Foundling Hospitals as a heaven-sent solution to their several problems. Sometimes in collusion, and sometimes acting singly they forcibly removed children from their mothers and paid unscrupulous men to deliver them to the Hospital in London. Some unhappily died en-route and, although such cases were not numerous, they helped to inflame public opinion against the Hospital. In doing this they gave weight to pamphlets inveighing against the very notion of a Hospital.

The prejudice which Ackworth Hospital had to face is illustrated by the following two examples. In January 1757 the Rev. Thomas Trant wrote to Taylor White;

> "The numbers of children sent down this summer have alarmed the County and the farmers (several instigated by the clergy themselves, not to say gentlemen too) have in several Places entered into Combinations to give their milk to the Hogs, or throw it away rather than let our nurses have it. Nay, a Dignatory of this neighbourhood has thought it fit to refuse a child, when dead, Christian burial in his Churchyard."[21]

The Rev. Dr. Timothy Lee wrote to Taylor White on 15 February 1760, that people were saying 'Foundlings at Nurse in this County were dying like Rotten Sheep.'[22]

In 1758, the Ackworth Committee stated that the guardians and Governors of the Hospital,

> "... desirous of it being of the greatest utility to the Public recommend it to the observation and inspection of Ladies. The experience of the fair sex in nursing of young children, their knowledge of education and employment proper for young children, and their insight into the economy of the house may be of the greatest use.
>
> It is hoped that the wives of Governors, and other ladies who are contributors to the Charity, will occasionally visit the Hospital and children at nurse within their neighbourhood, and if they observe any misconduct of any kind in the nursing of young children, or in their education, cleanliness, employment or behaviour, they will give notice in writing to the Committee, who meet at Ackworth the first Thursday in every month."[23]

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20. PS.
21. McClure, p. 105 (Secretary's Correspondence in 1757, Greater London Record Office).
22. Lloyd 1979, p. 42.
23. PS.

The following table, abridged from the Inspector's Book,[24] shows the villages in which children were nursed and who was in charge of them, and demonstrates the decline in numbers.

Place	Numbers/Year			Inspector
	'59	'60	'64	
Ackworth	48	40	38	Mrs. Lee, Miss Price [1764 Mrs. Surtees]
Altofts	23	26	2	Lady Dalton, Ms. Roebuck
Crofton and Sharleston	7	6	2	Rev. Mr. Wiggins, Mrs. Travers
Camsall and Norton	7	7	0	Mrs. Frank
Castleford & Glasshoughton	17	13	0	Rev. Mr. Fleming
Darington, Grove, Wentbridge	8	11	8	Mrs. Sothern [1764 Mrs. Lascelles]
Fairburn, Brotherton	9	9	0	Rev. Mr. Newton, Mrs. Walker
Featherstone, Purston	34	33	16	Thomas Winn, Rev. Mr. Driffield
Felkirk	54	53	19	Rev. Mr. Shaw, Mrs. Walker
Ferrybridge, Knottingley	39	36	12	Mr. Wainwright, Rev. Mr. Holmes, Mrs. Ingram
Hemsworth	41	40	21	Thomas Bradshaw, Mrs. Todd, Mrs. Trant
Kippax & Aberford	28	29	5	Mrs. Medhurst, Lady Margaret Ingham
Moorhouse	6	5	1	Patientius Ward, Esq.
Smeaton, Womersley	3	4	0	S. Harvey, Esq., Rev. Mr. Drake
Thorp & Upton	13	11	8	Rev. Mr. Rawsthorne, Mrs. Bright
Wragby	50	50	0	Miss Winn
Pontefract	36	34	24	Rev. Mr. Sturdy, Mrs. Huxley, Mrs. Wilson
Kirby	26	21	11	Rev. Mr. Allot, Mrs. Green, Mrs. Allot
	441	428	207	

The Hospital in London was always trying to interest women in their work, but with very little success. Honourable exceptions, however, were Lady Vere, Lady Betty Germaine and Jane, wife of William Hogarth, and Sir Charles and Lady Whitworth who frequently took their meals with the children at the Hospital. There is an interesting family connection with Lady Margaret Ingham, wife of the 'Methodist' preacher, the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, who was sister-in-law to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, one of Coram's original Lady Petitioners.[25] Lady Margaret was also half-sister to Lady Elizabeth Hastings, who founded a Girls' School and Orphanage at Ledston.

The infants all entered the Hospital at London, then travelled with their nurses to the country, and at the age of four or five were enrolled in the nearest Foundling Hospital. There was in addition, a certain amount of interchange between the Country Hospitals and in the case of Ackworth, this seemed to involve mainly children from Chester and Shropshire.

APPRENTICING THE CHILDREN

The Governors had never been in the habit of giving fees with apprentices or of apprenticing children at less than nine years old, but the Government came to the conclusion that it would be a better use of money to give apprentice fees, to get the children 'off their hands', and then gradually to decrease the sums spent on the children's upkeep.

A letter from Thomas Collingwood to Robert Hargreaves gives a hint of the anxiety the Governors were experiencing at this policy decision.

> "28 May 1767
>
> The House of Commons have resolved to grant £1500 towards apprenticing children maintained at public expense. It is hoped that the welfare of the children

24. Inspectors' Records, Ackworth, Book 58.
25. HMC, *Hastings Papers* III (1934), pp. 22-3.

will be more effectually promoted by this means and that no child whatsoever will be exposed to any injurious treatment on account of regulations so universally practised in this Kingdom.

The great tenderness and humanity which you have shewn affords the strongest reason to believe you will exert yourself on this occasion. The amount given with each child will depend on age, strength, health, knowledge of knitting & spinning & weaving. The Committee feel it improper to pay down the whole sum at once. As it may be presumed you are sufficiently acquainted with tradesmen, manufacturers, farmers & husbandmen in your neighbourhood to judge their sobriety, industry, also of the care taken of their own children, you will communicate this letter to such of them as you think worthy.

There are ladies and gentlemen who occasionally take some of these poor distressed children for household work, now apprentice fees are being given the greater attention is required that no child be trusted to these who have only money in view, your judgment of person and character must decide the matter."[26]

The children to be apprenticed must have entered the Hospital before the 20th of March 1760 and the apprentice fee could not exceed £7. It was further intended "that the boy or girl be apprenticed for no longer than 21 years, that ten or eleven years of drudgery in a menial capacity is sufficient and not to be continued to the age of 24".

John Hargreaves wrote to Mr. Collingwood on 17th June 1773, enclosing the letter of Robert Wallis, of York which stated that Baltazar Coates was bound apprentice in 1768 to George Lolly of Langwith, who had since died. George Coates, a glover of Coney Street was well-qualified as a master for this young man, and anxious to teach him his trade, but asked the Governors to have him bound for another seven years, bringing him beyond the age of 21. This would entitle him to the freedom of the city and enable him to carry on his trade, which otherwise he would be unable to do without purchase – the price being at the discretion of the Magistrates, and never less than £25. Sir Charles Whitworth affirmed that it was not possible for the Governors to apprentice beyond the age of 21: "... It seems unlucky for the boy ... deprived of the several advantages arising to freeman".[27] He suggested that he should *bind himself* for 7 years, thereby becoming a party to the deed, but required Hargreaves to take further advice and keep him informed of the outcome.

The balance of the nation's wealth was shifting from agricultural land to the coal measures, and this meant an increase in the demand for apprentices in the West Riding. Dr. Lee was always writing for big, strong boys as the demand for boy apprentices was so great that some were apprenticed on the very day of their arrival at Ackworth. Girls were much more difficult to place. As Lee wrote to Sir Charles Whitworth in December 1772 after the London Hospital had complained that only two of the eight boys returned to them from Yorkshire had been taught to read:

"For these last five or six years this Hospital has been more a place to put out children, than to instruct them in reading, it was thought needless to keep a number of schoolmasters to instruct children that probably would not be staying in the house a month ... since the number of boys has been so few, one of the largest has been entirely employed in instructing them. Most part of the persons ... asked not how they could read but what they could do ... There was always a schoolmaster for the girls until these last few months."[28]

One of the unhappiest occurences at the Ackworth Hospital concerned Martin Browne,

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26. PS.
27. PS.
28. PS.

a clothier from Holbeck Lodge, Leeds. In April 1764 he wanted fifty girls of seven years old for his manufactory. He said he had erected a new building, "The Industrious Foundling Hall", 117 feet by 26 feet, which with bedding would cost him £500. Dr. Lee, rightly as it proved, had misgivings about apprenticing so many children to one man, particularly as Browne said he would want another fifty children later. Taylor White responded to say that he "must add to it that some intimation had been given to our Committee of Mr. Browne's undertaking being rather hazardous ... I own this does not weigh with me, for all good and great designs require a spirit to induce the undertaker to carry them to perfection, & if Mr. Browne has genius and integrity he will surmount many obstacles."[29]

Mr. White wrote to Sir Rowland Winn saying that Browne's intention was to instruct the children in the making of 'Cloath like the French Cloath for the East India or Turkey Trade: a branch of the trade at that time wholly in the hands of the French'. Browne was proving very difficult – a fact which should have alerted the Governors. He had no desire to deal with Ackworth, but only directly with the London Committee. He was informed that Ackworth was empowered to run its own affairs. He heard that the government was considering the payment of fees with apprentices, and immediately demanded that he be paid back-dated fees for his apprentices. Sir Rowland Winn had to write to London to say that Browne had been to see Hargreaves and had threatened to return the children. At length London agreed that as the children were so young they would make a payment of 'nursing money' for the year until the children's work became profitable.

There is a copy of correspondence dated April 1768 from Jonas Hanway to Martin Browne saying that the London Committee could not give him money, but were willing to help by taking back the twenty children he wanted to get rid of. The letter also expressed concern about the death of so many children, and hoped they had been properly fed and not overworked! The Secretary also wrote to Ackworth to say they thought the children were in a 'perilous condition' and suggested that someone should be sent to Holbeck to check on the state of Browne's apprentices.

Mr. T. Cope and Robert Hargreaves investigated, and reported back that most of the twenty children Browne wanted to part with needed to be put out to nurse to regain their health, three were in a desperate state. Fresh air might help to restore the children recovering from 'Putried Fever' from which twenty-four had already died. This condition, Cope reported, arose from the "Putried Stench from the Little House". The children slept on corded beds with thin mattresses laid over" ... which must be very unfit to refresh those weary limbs that have kept the whole day to hard Labour." Hargreaves confirmed these observations and added that Browne, lacking the means to manufacture woollen goods, had been obliged to take in contract worsted spinning. The children were proving not strong enough to stand on their feet all day – before they had stood and then sat alternately – so they were hardly able to walk for the pain in their hips, thighs and knees.

Mr. Browne attended the Committee at Ackworth on 19th April. He acknowledged that 'necessaries' were not good, but he never suspected any danger from the smell. As to the beds, the children '... liked them better than the boards.' Nothing '... appeared against him as to their food or cloathing'. The Committee meeting on 23rd April unanimously agreed that Mr. Browne had overworked the children. It was felt that it would be a long time before many of the children would be fit to be apprenticed again.

When Robert Hargreaves attended the Magistrates Court in Leeds at which the Mayor and Aldermen were in attendance it was to hear Mr. Wilson, the Recorder,

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29. PS. The incident concerning Martin Browne is covered by a long series of letters in 1764 and 1765, and others in 1768 when the matter was resolved.

declare that:

> "... Neither the complaint made by Mr. Browne, nor his inabilities, or those on behalf of the Governors were sufficient to Justifie the Magistrate of Leeds to discharge the children from their apprenticeship."

He feared for the consequences for Holbeck Township, as the children now had a settlement in Holbeck and would thus be a charge on the parish. His suggestion was that Browne should transfer the children to 'such Persons as the governors should appoint'.

The fifty-one remaining children were boarded out to recover, but this created further problems for they were no longer Children of the Hospital. They were no longer entitled to have Hospital money spent on them, so London suggested that separate funds should be raised for them from 'Charity Sermons' in Leeds and Wakefield.[30] It seems surprising that the Governors did not prosecute Martin Browne for ill-treatment of his apprentices as was their usual practice, but they seem to have accepted his argument that it was 'misfortune'.

In the event of damages being awarded in a case of that kind, the sum of money concerned was invested on the child's behalf, and released to him when he completed his apprenticeship. The Governors would not permit the apprenticing of boys to chimney-sweepers, but in December 1769 Robert Hargreaves wrote to inform Mr. Collingwood that one William Lewis, who had been apprenticed in good faith to Robert Barham, was now working with a sweep. All three, Lewis, Barham and the sweep, were called to account before the Committee. Barham explained that his financial state was now such that he could no longer afford to keep an apprentice. Horner, the sweep, on the other hand was in full employ, and had saved money. Despite this, however, the Governors would not countenance the transfer of Lewis's apprenticeship.[31]

They would not permit a boy to be apprenticed to become a husbandman, if later he would become an overseer of negroes.

We learn from the advertisements in eighteenth-century newspapers that apprentices frequently absconded from their masters, and in this the Foundlings were no exception. They generally made their way back to their nurses. In the Ackworth Committee minutes of 1774 (after the closure of Ackworth) it is recorded that Robert Jackson of Walton, Wakefield had received a letter from Sir Charles Whitworth to say that his apprentice, Ann Packington, was with George Goodchild in the parish of Heckfield, Hampshire (where she had been nursed). Would he send for her, otherwise she would be returned by due course of law? Jackson said she had disappeared eighteen months before and he had advertised for her in the Newspapers. The Committee felt that as he had five children of his own he could not afford the expense of fetching her. If she was returned he would try to take care of her. On balance, however, they recommended that she should be apprenticed near Heckfield for having once returned to her nurse she would not again settle in Yorkshire![32]

There was one girl apprenticed in Beverley who came back to Ackworth. She confessed to having robbed her master four times, and when he beat her the neighbours told her to return to the Hospital. The governors wrote to her master to say that he had no business to let his apprentice 'go strolling' about the country for three weeks – she might have been 'irretrievably ruined'. They then suggested that they would get the apprenticeship transferred for the remainder of her time.[32]

The Governors in London and Ackworth considered that they stood *'in loco parentis'* to their foundlings when they were apprenticed. After all, children from normal family

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30. PS.
31. PS.
32. PS.

backgrounds had parents and friends to intervene on their behalf, whereas the foundling child stood alone.

In 1768 Parliament had granted a further £2000 for apprentice fees, and in considering this, the Ackworth Committee meeting on 3rd March resolved:

> "... That as the Patronising of these poor children Apprenticed in every part of this extensive County may be a check to the misbehaviour of some masters and mistresses ... therefore it is requested the following gentlemen be added to this committee – [There follows a list of eighteen names: see Appendix 2][33]

When children were apprenticed and left the Hospital they were given a Bible and a Prayer-book: they were expected to be able to recite, without recourse to the texts: The Lord's Prayer, the Creed, The Commandments, a Morning Prayer and an Evening Prayer. Their physical necessities were catered for with sets of clothes. The boys received: two coats, two pairs of breeches three shirts, two pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes, a hat and a handkerchief. The girls were given: one coat, two petticoats, three shifts, three day-caps, two night-caps, two bibs and aprons, two pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes, a tucker hat and a handkerchief.

Some of the Committee members who were also wealthy landowners took apprentices from Ackworth. In 1760, Sir James Lowther took thirteen boys to be apprenticed for husbandmen, for sea service and as banksmen,[34] and would have them educated. He was very pleased with '... the goodness of the children and the cleanly and orderly manner in which they had been educated'. In 1772, Sir James required twenty boys and twenty-three girls of between 12 and 13 years and three older girls to attend them for his carpet manufactory in Westmorland. This time, however, he was less pleased with them. (Among his apprentices was the girl who had walked back from Beverley at such risk, and another girl with the delightful name of Temperance Reel.) Dr. Lee wrote that Sir James had, despite the prompting of many letters, delayed so long in coming to fetch the children that the best of them had already been apprenticed elsewhere! This was at the time of the General Reception, when the Hospital was experiencing its most difficult period.

Another Governor, Christopher Turner of Kirkleatham, required thirty Ackworth boys to be apprenticed to his tenant farmers. At this time the Committee would not permit Henry Hindley, a noted clockmaker of York, to have an apprentice from Ackworth as he was a "Roman Catholick". A Quaker from Richmond was allowed a boy apprentice, however.[35]

HEALTH

The health of the children in their care was something that caused great concern to both Ackworth and London. In 1758, Sir Rowland Winn wrote that he felt Thomas Trant's system of employing several different apothecaries was expensive. In his view they would gain by employing one of their own, and London agreed that they might do 'as it seemeth best'. After advertisements had been placed and interviews conducted, a Mr. Buchan was chosen to be surgeon and apothecary at a salary of £42 per annum, exclusive of board, washing, and keep for his horse. The engagement was for three years, subject to three months notice in the case of disapproval by the Governors. As well as attending to the children within the Hospital, an apothecary's duties included visiting the children at nurse in the area – calling without prior warning so as to gain a true idea of how the children were being looked after. Dr. Lee had a high opinion of the way the

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33. PS.
34. PS.
35. A banksman was a colliery overseer working on the surface.

nurses in the village looked after their charges: he examined the record book every week, and it was always displayed for inspection at the governors' monthly committee meetings. Mr. William Buchan came from Jedburgh. In 1767, he wrote a book on the diseases of children drawing on his experience at Ackworth.[36]

In 1772, Dr. Lee wrote; "... This Hospital had four physicians, viz. Hodgson, Wilsford, Cookson and Disney. The first two are dead, the other two so infirm that they are seldom fit enough to leave home ..."[37] He therefore proposed to employ Dr. Davidson, who had come to live in Pontefract and had offered his services as Governor, in their place.

There were many serious childhood diseases and deformities in the eighteenth century for which there was neither prevention nor cure. Dr. Lee writes of puny children, of dwarfs, of those with crooked legs and Baker knees – these latter had to sit on their beds each morning and have their legs rubbed. Rickets was a fairly common deficiency disease, although it was not until after the First World War that its prevention by vitamin D and exposure to sunlight was discovered. Scurvy, which also afflicted children, was similarly later attributed to lack of vitamin C. The Itch or Scabies while at least not a killer, was highly contagious and very difficult to control in an institution. Measles at this time was one of the greatest killers, and probably also accounted for the number of children suffering from 'weak eyes'. It was not until the second half of this century that the connection between rubella caught by the mother during pregnancy and the birth of children with deafness or blindness was established. There were a number of profoundly deaf children in the Hospitals.

One of the commonest causes of child death was an unspecified 'fever'. There were plenty to choose from: spotted fever (meningitis), typhus, typhoid, scarlet fever, or diphtheria. The only preventative measure available was inoculation against small-pox, and this was by no means a total success. Children died from chin (whooping) cough and death from consumption was also recorded, although with lesser frequency than in the nineteenth century.

Replying to an enquiry from Mr. Collingwood as to their treatment for scrofula, a tubercular gland in the neck, also known as King's Evil, Mr. Hargreaves referred to

> "... purgatives and alternative electuarys (sic) with decoction of woods, external applications of suppuration plasters, detergents and absorbants according to the case. Some (patients) are completely well, others improved ... some who seemed incurable Dr. Cookson recommended the Ilkley waters."[38]

Mr. Hargreaves was sent to Ilkley to arrange accommodation for eighteen children at 7*s* each.

> "Children with Scald Heads (ringworm) have internal medicines as above, cabbage leaves applied to the head, which has made a prodigious discharge, after annointed twice a day with the following ung't Sambuc 31s Picis Liq'd, Zh Sulph, Vic zisi. Some that have not been cured applied a plaister all over head of black pitch and osegeroeum equal parts, this brings off the hair, generally a cure but so severe seldom used unless all methods fail"[39]

Most of these conditions were still causing physicians trouble at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Mrs. Hargreaves as Chief Matron was assisted by two other matrons, one of whom

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36. PS.
36. W. Buchan, *Domestic Medicine, or the Family Physician* (1769).
37. PS.
38. PS.
39. PS.

was the matron of the Infirmary. Often too, 'great' girls were employed as assistant nurses particularly at the end of Ackworth's time as a Hospital in the period of financial stringency. The Governors of the foundling Hospital threatened any nurse with instant dismissal who gave infants alcohol or opium to quieten them.

WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT AND CLOSURE

In February 1760 the House of Commons passed without division a resolution terminating the support of the General Reception at the Foundling Hospital after 25 March. Thus the Governors had to advertise their inability to accept children after that date, and circulate all churchwardens and overseers of the poor with that information. Between 12 and 24 March 308 children were admitted: the last child taken in was baptised Kitty Finis![40]

Parliament could not withdraw its financial support for the 6,857 children taken in under its orders, but they gradually reduced the grant, especially after 1765 when they began the scheme for apprentices' fees. As they reduced the maintenance payments to the Hospitals, they increased the fees for apprentices. Unfortunately, the Parliamentary grants were paid very much in arrears, and to keep the Hospitals going and the nurses and staff paid invested legacies had to be sold. In 1771, Parliament paid the Hospital £2,970 for the support of the remaining 396 children and £27,030 as a final payment. They then closed the books for ever. Parliament had paid £548,796 in all, and felt it had all been a terrible mistake!

The main Foundling Hospital, left without Government support and with severely depleted resources, was consequently obliged to close down the Country Hospitals. Aylesbury was closed in 1767, Barnet in 1768, Westerham and Chester went in 1769 and Shrewsbury in 1772. Ackworth, the first to be founded, was the last to be closed in 1773.

Sir Charles Whitworth explained the position to Dr. Lee in a letter written on 7 November 1772:

> "... we have frequent and almost daily demand for apprentices, so that by their not being here, we are keeping a double expense viz. those that might be placed out and those that are admitted in the Infant state, which consequently creates a stagnation – as to those who have infirmities must be a dead weight upon the Charity they will come under a future consideration. But if you will accept my opinion, the prospect is rather melancholy ... thus you see that our chief and only support is in the dividends on the stock in the funds and in the estate ... I suppose our general outgoings to be about 5 or 6000£ and an income of not above £3000. Besides the Novelty ceasing, consequently private charity flowing into other objects – such as Asylums, Magdalens, Medecines for Infant poor etc. which were not in being when ours was set on foot – tho' usefull in their respective degrees. Thus our only prospect must be to get out those who are of Proper Age and ability to go apprentice ... in order to receive others who require less charge by being at nurse ... No one would be more happy than myself could any mode enable us to keep a large number, but the coat must be cut to the cloth ... yet for the present we must all unite to be at the least expense and make the most of our slender income ..."[41]

In November 1772, therefore, arrangements were being put in hand to dispose of the children and sell the Hospital at Ackworth. The Ackworth Committee felt;

> "... it would be most uncharitable to put out those miserable objects separately as they could not have the necessary assistance of an apothecary but at very great

40. PS.
41. McClure, p. 114.

> expense and at the same time must have an Inspector to visit them and see that all due care is taken of them, their board and clothing paid etc."[42]

They suggested that Hargreaves should look after them in the hospital for £8 per head per annum.

Hargreaves had to go to Doncaster to make arrangements for Cave and Jackson's wagon to take those children fit to apprentice to London. As so many apprentices had been placed out in Yorkshire, the Ackworth Committee felt that it ought to have a place to meet and the assistance of a secretary, particularly when they had to discuss cases of apprenticeship where the master had died or had ill-treated their charge, or in other cases of accident.

In February 1773, the London Committee was still of the opinion that disabled children could be apprenticed locally, but Ackworth stood firmly by their rule which stipulated that –

> "... No person can have an apprentice from this Hospital without a Governors' recommendation or a Certificate from the Ministers, Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor".[43]

These officers could not recommend 'maimed or distempered children' who might become a charge on the parish. By May 1773 it was agreed that these children should be sent to London. Hargreaves could not be permitted to keep the children in the Hospital lest it should prevent a sale.

An auction was arranged for the livestock, all carts, implements and gears. Forty-four acres of the land was sold for £1,500, and John Carr, the architect came from York to value the property. The Marquis of Rockingham asked to buy the turret clock and bells, for the erection of which he had previously given £100. Carr valued it at £50 and the sale was arranged. The remainder of the land was let to farmers to maintain it in good heart. Dr. Hunter of York responded to Dr. Lee's inquiry with the opinion that the house was not suitable for an lunatic asylum, being too remote from a large town and the necessary medical help.

On 6 June 1773, Dr. Lee wrote to Sir Charles Whitworth of his hope that "... when the sale is made publick, some publick use might be made of it. The buildings are so strong constructed that they might be converted to a Palace for a Nabob or a Barrack for a Regt."[44] Certainly he hoped the buildings would not be pulled down "... the stone of which it is built came from the waste lands or common, and (is) scarce worth the carrying away, as new stones are so cheap."

In fact, the Governors had great difficulty in disposing of the Hospital. In December 1777, the Society of Friends offered £7,000 for the land and the buildings. They took possession on Lady Day 1778 at a rent of £280 per annum, and finally completed the purchase at £7,000 on 29 March, 1786. The Hospital furnishing and land had cost £20,000, and had realised about £11,000. The building now forms the core of Ackworth School (Fig. 1).

The Hospital in London carried on in a reduced way on the proceeds of the sale of the Country Hospitals, and in the 1780s increased its income by developing about 50 acres of the original 58 acres which they had bought from Lord Salisbury. In 1926 the Hospital moved to Redhill, and then to Berkhamstead in 1935. Owing to the changing ideas on child welfare, institutional care ceased and children were boarded out. The original buildings were demolished in 1928. Today the 'Hospital' is the Thomas Coram Foundation, working in adoption, fostering and counselling services, with a

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42. PS.
43. PS.
44. PS.



Fig. 1. Ackworth School – Centre Block

Headquarters in Brunswick Square. The Headquarters also houses the Foundling Hospital Art Collection. Sometimes to-day a helicopter will land on Coram's Fields, bringing a desperately-ill child for treatment at the nearby Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street – which somehow seems singularly appropriate!

CONCLUSION

The total number of children received at Ackworth was 2,664, of whom 1,327 were boys and 1,337 girls. 2,365 had been apprenticed, 11 reunited with their parents, 10 discharged on reaching their twenty-first birthdays, 109 had been returned to London and 169 had died. A mortality rate of a mere 6½ per cent, in the eighteenth century is truly amazing. Perhaps it may be partly accounted for by the very rapid turn over of children in the final five years (Dr. Lee wrote of many not being more than a few weeks in the Hospital) or maybe it was the policy of asking for 'strong boys'. The mortality rate in London was often more like 50 per cent or above, but they felt an obligation to keep the weakest childen, and during the worst years of the General Reception some infants were dying as they were carried from the gate to the infirmary. Whatever the reason for the low death-rate in Yorkshire, it shows the great care which must have been expended on the children remaining at Ackworth.

We hear very little of the many people who contributed to this care as foster parents in Ackworth itself, or in the surrounding villages. Of Robert Hargreaves we learn something from his letters, and from the many journeys he undertook on foot or on horseback, but we learn nothing of Mrs. Hargreaves or of the matrons and nurses who

served under her.

Sir Rowland Winn and his family made a great contribution to the success of the venture. In Ackworth, as in London and the other Hospitals, it was the devoted few who made the work possible. Sir Rowland wrote to the General Committee on 3 January 1757, "... the Country Gentlemen in these parts are like most others for they do not like to give themselves much trouble, though I believe many of them would on this occasion act with more spirit than they do in most public affairs."[45] They would contribute the fitty pounds if made Governors.

Undoubtedly the most dynamic figure connected with the venture in Ackworth was the Rector, the Rev. Dr. Timothy Lee, born in 1714 the son of William Lee of Pontefract. Educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was Vicar of Pontefract (1742-44), Vicar of Felkirk (1743-77) and Rector of Ackworth (1744-77). He was Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1752, the same year that he received his Doctor of Divinity, though one cannot imagine he could spend much time there. The Rev. J. L. Saywell in his *Parochial History of Ackworth* (1894) says of him:

> "Dr. Lee was a model Pastor from whichever direction he is viewed, one over which even Herbert himself would have waxed warm with enthusiasm."

Somehow he does not seem to resemble Herbert, but he certainly led a very full life in the village of Ackworth. He was truly an eighteenth-century parson of the best type.

His portrait by Killingbeck, Snr. was left to hang in the Rectory by a later Rector, and his Chippendale chair left in perpetuity to the Rectors. When he was not taking services, superintending either his large garden with its grotto and fishpond, or the occupants of the Lowther almshouses on the other side of the green from his large Rectory, walking the half-mile to the Hospital to see what was going on, or writing one of his forthright letters to the London Commitee, he was hunting with his hounds. One cannot tell how much he loved his God, but he was certainly a lover of mankind.

Acknowledgements

I went to London to visit both the Coram Foundation and the Greater London Record Office (which has about 9 tons of relevant documentary material) to research the link between Thomas Trant and the Foundling Hospital from the comparatively early date of 1741. I was advised by the Foundation Secretary that, unless I was prepared to waste many fruitless days, I should approach Miss Sadler, the Archivist at Ackworth School. She had taken many extracts from the Letters and Minute Books concerning Ackworth and the London Hospital. Miss Sadler kindly lent me these extracts, for which I am most grateful. I understand that the early material connected with Ackworth School will soon be deposited in the Wakefield Record Office Archives. The Hospital archives will remain at the School. Where my source has been Miss Sadler's extracts I have marked them PS.

For the background information, I have relied greatly on Ruth McClure's *Coram's Children*, and references from this source are marked McClure. Other sources are listed in a way that will be clear when reference is made to the Bibliography.

I should like to record my gratitude to Val Gausden for typing my MS on his word processor and to the Rev. Peter Moorhouse, Rector of Ackworth, for his help.

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APPENDIX ONE

LIST OF PATRONS FOR APPRENTICED CHILDREN

Sir Will: Anderson, Bart, LEA, Lincolnshire
Sir Geo: Strickland, Bart, BOYNTON, Yorkshire (Brother-in-law of Sir Rowland Winn)
Samuel Lister, HORTON, Yorkshire)
William Weddal, NEWBY, Yorkshire)
Chas: Turner, KIRKLEATHAM, Yorkshire)
William Thornton, THORNVILLE, Yorkshire) Esq'rs
Andrew Wilkinson, BORROWBRIDGE, Yorkshire)
Walter Osbourne, SHEFFIELD, Yorkshire)
Samuel Tooker, ROTHERHAM, Yorkshire)
Christoph: Crowe, KIPLIN, Yorkshire)

The Rev'd Francis Topham LLD, YORK
The Rev'd Dr. Herring, Dean of St. Asaph, BOLTON
John Holroyd, GROVE, Yorks, Esq.
Francis Edmonds, WORSBOROUGH, Yorks, Esq.
J. Stanhope, HORSFORTH, Yorks, Esq.

Also added: Lord John Cavendish, and Peregrine Wentworth (Bramham Lodge) (This may be Braham Lodge near Plumpton Rocks, since two alternative spellings are given.)

APPENDIX TWO

THOMAS CORAM'S LETTER TO SELINA, COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON, 15 Sept. 1739

"... After seventeen years and a half's contrivance, labour and fatigue I have obtained a charter for establishing an hospital for the reception, maintenance, proper instruction and employment of exposed deserted young children ...

I could never have obtained the Charter had not the great Ladies subscribed the Declaration on 21st of April 1730, for I could never prevail with any Nobleman, Archbishop, Briton nor Foreigner, to speak to the late or present King of it. But the great ladies subscribing the Declaration in the book, induced several Lords and Gentlemen to subscribe to another book ...

I would request your Ladyship to contribute something towards the expense of stamps and other charges ..."

H.M.C *Hastings Papers,* Vol III (1934), pp. 22-3.

DENISON HALL, LITTLE WOODHOUSE, LEEDS

By Richard Hewlings

Denison Hall, now a Leeds City old people's home, was built originally as a suburban villa, though within forty years it was engulfed by the westward expansion of Leeds. Its builder was John Denison, heir to the fortune of the leading branch of the leading family of Leeds woollen merchants. Its architect remains unknown. Although this article does not remedy that deficiency, the other circumstances of Denison Hall's construction may shed some light on possible designers.

John Denison was born John Wilkinson, the son of John Wilkinson of Newcstle, but formerly of Woodhouse in the parish of Leeds, and his wife Ann, *née* Denison, sister of Leeds' richest woollen merchant, William Denison.[1] The Wilkinsons were probably of lowly birth. One story has it that the elder Wilkinson was a cloth packer, another that he was a factor.[2] Certainly their pedigree, as recorded in Burke's *Landed Gentry,* declines to go back further than John Wilkinson, senior, which suggests they had nothing to boast of in their antecedents.[3] Their alliance with the Denisons had, however, been made one generation before that of John and Ann; for Ann Denison's mother, also Ann, was the sister of John Wilkinson's father, Gowan. Gowan Wilkinson's trade is not known, but he and Ann were the children of another Gowan Wilkinson, who evidently lived at Tughall, in the parish of Bamburgh, Northumberland, where eight of his children were baptised between 1680 and 1700.[4]

Their match was more fortunate than could have been anticipated, for William Denison and his younger brother Robert both died bachelors, leaving their considerable fortune to their nephews, John and Edward, the sons of John Wilkinson senior.[5] Whether by design or by accident, Edward, who inherited the smaller share, carried on the Denison family business. John, who inherited the larger part, and who was perhaps intended by William Denison to inherit it all, was obliged to change his name to Denison.

William Denison bought seven landed estates, all for profit. It had not been his intention to found a landed dynasty, but to continue merchanting from his house in Kirkgate, Leeds, which had packing and dressing shops, a tenter close, and a great dunghill immediately to the rear. His estates were intensively farmed and improved and he only visited them for that purpose. His only building activity took place in 1780, at the end of his life, when he commissioned John Carr to design and build a combined church and *mausoleum* at Ossington, Notts, a project which was completed by his heir. For, when he died in 1782, his estates all passed to his brother Robert; and Robert, in the three years of life left to him, began also to spend his brother's fortune on whims of his own. His will was made in 1785, and left a sizeable annuity to his housekeeper Mrs.

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1. G. D. Lumb, 'The family of Denison, of Great Woodhouse, and their residences in Leeds', *Thoresby Society,* xv, 1909, p. 251.
2. I owe the cloth packer version to a conversation with Dr. Richard Wilson. Lumb, *op. cit.,* p. 256, calls him a factor.
3. The most recent entry is in Burke, *Landed Gentry,* 16th edition, 1939.
4. F. S. Colman, 'A History of Barwick-in-Elmet', *Thoresby Society,* xvii, 1908, p. 237.
5. The information in this and the following two paragraphs is from Richard Wilson, 'Ossington and the Denisons', *History Today,* March 1968.

Dunn. Five codicils made within six months, increased the annuity to £1,500 pa, and left her all the Denison estates in Durham, plus Potterton Hall, in the parish of Barwick in Elmet. The elder John Wilkinson, by now a widower, was eventually obliged to marry Mrs. Dunn in order to bring these estates back into the family, and a settlement was agreed with her in 1787.

On Robert Denison's death in 1785, John Wilkinson, now John Denison, inherited all his uncles's estates, save Potterton Hall and those in Durham, which went to Mrs. Dunn, and the properties in Leeds which were divided between him and his brother Edward. On his principal estate, Ossington Hall in Nottinghamshire, John Denison immediately (April 1786) engaged the London architect John Soane to design improvements.[6] These were not executed, and in 1788 he engaged William Lindley, the Doncaster architect, and former pupil of Carr, to design further improvements, which, eventually, were carried out.[7] Either of these might have been engaged on John Denison's Leeds properties, or on Potterton Hall, for, as a result of the settlement made with Mrs. Dunn in 1787, Potterton Hall and the Durham estates also came to John and Edward jointly.[8]

Potterton is a township in the parish of Barwick in Elmet, seven miles north-east of Leeds, and just south of the Leeds—York turnpike. Potterton Hall was visited by Pevsner, but has otherwise not been published, and is not even recorded in the National Monuments Record. Robert Denison bought it in 1765 from a rich tanner of Cinderhill in the parish of Cawthorne, Robert Fretwell. Fretwell also had a sizeable stake in the carriage trade between Leeds and Tadcaster, and his ownership of sloops and lighters at Tadcaster shows that he had a stake in the river carriage trade from that town also. He bought Potterton in 1743, but by 1757 was in trouble, and conveyed it to the trustees for the benefit of his creditors. In 1762 he removed to India, and it was from Robert Fretwell of Chittagong, Bengal, that Robert Denison obtained the release of Potterton Hall.[9] It has an L-shaped plan, of which the west-facing wing is a distinguished small gentry house of the 1750s in a style which owes a lot to James Paine. The south-facing wing is larger, and less distinctive, but appears to date from the 1780s or 1790s, and thus to have been built by John Denison and Edward Wilkinson. The account books and vouchers for their joint properties do show small payments for building and planting, but up to 1789 they are too small to cover the south wing of Potterton Hall, and in any case do not specify which property they refer to.[10] The style is not distinctive enough to attribute the design to any architect with confidence, but it is not inconsistent with William Lindley's, and it has no motif used by Soane. Pending the identification of further documentation it seems likely that this wing was built after the period of Soane's relationship with John Denison (perhaps in the 1790s), and by someone else (perhaps William Lindley).

None of the Denison estates more perfectly illustrates the contrast in management between uncle and nephew than their Leeds properties. They consisted of a handful of properties, including at least one warehouse, dressing and packing shops, tofts, closes and possibly some agricultural land, and tenanted properties which may well have included houses.[11] It seems unlikely that they included any unoccupied dwelling houses other than William Denison's house in Kirkgate, which the two brothers would have had to share. From 1785 until the settlement of 1787, when Potterton Hall became available, Edward Wilkinson would have had no other house of his own, whereas John would at least have had Ossington. It would have been reasonable to allow Edward's household the complete use of the Kirkgate house, with the consequence that John had nowhere in which to set up court when he came to Leeds. These circumstances are only speculative,

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6. Richard Hewlings, 'Soane's designs for Ossington', *Architectural History* 27, 1984, p. 270.
7. H. A. Johnson, 'The Architecture of Ossington Hall', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 84, 1980.
8. Wilson, *op. cit.*
9. Colman, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
10. University of Nottingham, Denison Papers, De H 4-6, *Account Books 1781-5, 1783-7 and 1785-9.*
11. As revealed in Denison Papers, De H 8, *Vouchers 1786-9.*

but some sort of explanation is required for John's decision, within a few months of inheriting, not just to build a new house in Leeds, but to buy land on his independent account on which to place it.

This house, which has ever since been called Denison Hall (though not apparently by John Denison), still stands, incorporated into the early nineteenth-century Hanover Square, of which it forms the north side. The area (former township) is Little Woodhouse, just south of the Denison family's patriarchal spot in Great Woodhouse, and ¾ mile west of the town centre. The ground slopes steeply down to the Aire, ½ mile to the south, and Denison Hall was built to take advantage of unpolluted air to windward of the town and what were then superb views over the valley to the south. This situation is the classic location of late eighteenth-century suburban villas, and can be paralleled at exactly that date by several examples outside Hull, Newcastle and Manchester. That date is 1786, and until now it was the only circumstance concerning the genesis of Denison Hall to have been securely known, from an advertisement placed in the *Leeds Mercury* on 27 June 1786 for 3 or 4 score masons to build it.[12]

Fortunately, however, the bills of John Denison's Leeds solicitor, Lucas Nicholson, survive, and provide a rare abundance of information.[13] The Little Woodhouse property was bought, largely from a Mr. Elam, by 7 June 1786, when Nicholson attended with John Denison to view it. Mr. Elam was paid £8,500. On 21 June Nicholson billed for drawing and ingrossing eight agreements with craftsmen to build the new house. The same names occur in otherwise unspecified payments in two of John Denison's account books, from which a fuller picture emerges.[14]

One load of stone was bought from Richardson and Joseph Pickard, and another from Coward and Holliday's quarry at Potternewton. A Pickard had supplied '3 tun flags' (for £1 0*s* 6*d*) to William Denison at an unidentified property at Woodhouse, Leeds, on 17 January 1753, and was paid £54 12*s* 'for stone' at the same property on 24 August 1758.[15] Part of the mason's work was executed by Listers and partner, doubtless John Lister of Wath-upon-Dearne (near Barnsley), who supplied stone for Ossington church.[16] A Lister, perhaps a relation, had been paid £10 5*s* by William Denison, for supplying 'Latts and Nails' to a property at Woodhouse, on 4 May 1758.[17] The masonry of the west wing was executed by Rhodes, doubtless the Robert Rhodes who worked for Carr at Denton Hall in 1773,[18] and at Ossington church.[19]

Bricklayer's work was executed by Sutcliffe and Reader, doubtless the William Sutcliffe who had also worked at Denton Hall in 1773.[20] A Sutcliffe had been paid for unspecified tasks (but probably for building work, as identifiable building craftsmen appear in the same payment) at a property in Woodhouse by William Denison on three occasions, in 1762, 1763, and 1768.[21] For the outbuildings bricklayer's work was done by Cave and Edward Harrison.

The carpenter was called Hargreaves, perhaps the William Hargreaves who had been the carpenter at Ossington church,[22] and perhaps the William Hargreaves who estimated £32 5*s* for eight new stable stands and removing nine old stands on a property at Woodhouse at an unspecified date.[23] If he is the William Hargreave (sic) who was paid for unspecified work between 15 August 1786 and 6 January 1787, he received a total of £1,460 over this period.[24] The carpenter for the outbuildings was William

12. Wilson, *op. cit.*
13. Denison Papers, De H 8, *Vouchers 1786-9* ('Jno. Denison Esqr. to Lucas Nicholson').
14. *Ibid,* De H 5, *Account Book 1783-7,* and De H 6, *Account Book 1785-9.*
15. *Ibid,* De H 41.
16. Wilson, *op. cit.,* where he is called John Leister.
17. Denison Papers, De H 41.
18. Wakefield Public Library, Goodchild Collection, *Denton Hall Building Accounts.*
19. Wilson, *op. cit.*
20. Goodchild Collection, *Denton Hall Building Accounts.*
21. Denison Papers, De H 41.
22. Wilson, *op. cit.*
23. Denison Papers, De H 42.
24. Denison Papers, De H 5, *Account Book 1783-7,* p. 56.

Lawrence, probably the same William Lawrence, joiner, who in 1807 announced in the *Leeds Mercury* that he was setting up in practice as an architect.[25]

There were two plasterers, John Waggill, probably the John Waggill of Aberford whom Sir Walter Vavasour had recommended to Robert Denison when Ossington church was being built,[26] and whom we might therefore assume had worked at Sir Walter's house, Hazelwood Castle.[27] The other was William Rothwell, probably the Rothwell who had worked at Denton Hall in 1773;[28] but 'Rothwell being shy about executg. the Agreement and declining comg. for that Purpose' Nicholson had to attend 'several times at the Building and endeavour to meet with him but cod. not'. Eventually Nicholson had to go 'over to Bradford by your Directions to know his immediate answer whh. he wd. sign the Agreement or not wh. he signed it'.
These men were paid in full on 4 and 5 December 1788, together with a number of others whose work is unspecified, except for John Whiteley (slater), William Carr (plasterer), Wade and James Lloyd (carvers).[29] Wade may have been the carver of that name who worked at Denton,[30] possibly the Benjamin Wade who was the joiner at Harewood.[31] A John Rodgers was also paid at this time for unspecified work, and he may well have been the John Rogers who did ironwork at Ossington church,[32] having taken over the business of Maurice Tobin, the Leeds smith who had worked extensively for Carr.[33]

Work was doubtless complete by that date, and at an unspecified date in 1788 John Denison paid £73 2*s* 10*d* for 'Insce. [insurance] on New House'.[34] On 21 February of that year he paid £300 'By Draft to G. Seddon & Son', particularised as '1 mth.', and on 22 May 'Seddons' received £24 19*s*.[35] This large monthly instalment, if such it was, was presumably to the huge London furniture company of that name. It was not the only payment for furniture as on 7 May Gillow & Co were paid 15 gns.[36] The furniture cannot be proved to have been intended for Denison Hall, but the payment occurs in the account book for the Leeds properties. And a little later John Denison commissioned furniture from the metropolitan upholsterers Edward and Marsh of Mount Street, who billed him on 30 June 1796.[37]

Suburban villas, in the sense of houses styled to look like a country seat, but built on the strength of a commercial, industrial or financial fortune, rather than on a landed estate, were not new to Leeds in 1786. Indeed John Denison's second cousin three times removed, Thomas Denison, had built Meanwood Hall, a house in just this category, c.1760.[38] A number of smaller villas were built in Little Woodhouse in the immediately succeeding years.[39] Yet Denison Hall set a new standard of size and splendour so close to the town, and it was the prototype for Benjamin Gott's Armley House (Smirke: c.1810), Thomas Nicholson's Roundhay Park (John Clark: c.1826), John Hives' Gledhow Grove (John Clark: before 1857), and Christopher Beckett's expansion of

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25. Derek Linstrum, *West Yorkshire: Architects and Architecture,* 1978, p. 380.
26. Denison Papers, De B 19, *Memorandum Book 1780.*
27. Arthur Oswald, in *Country Life,* cxxii, 1951, 1380, 1426.
28. Goodchild Collection, *Denton Hall Building Accounts.*
29. Denison Papers, De H 6, *Account Book 1785-9.* Wade and Lloyd were paid earlier, on 10 January and 20 June respectively.
30. Goodchild Collection, *Denton Hall Building Accounts.*
31. Mary Mauchline, *Harewood House,* 1974, p. 60.
32. Wilson, *op. cit.*
33. David Nortcliffe, 'The Restyling of Kirklees Hall 1753-90', *Trans. Halifax Antiquarian Soc.* 1987.
34. Denison Papers, De H 6, *Account Book 1785-9.*
35. *Idem.*
36. *Idem.*
37. Denison Papers, De H 42. Again, it is not clear where this furniture was intended for. Ossington seems the obvious place, but the bill is in a bundle otherwise relating to Leeds properties. The bill is made out to John Denison, which may eliminate Potterton, as this was occupied first by his father and step-mother (the former Mrs. Dunn), then by his brother Edward. Denison Hall was let at some point in 1796, but the bill may refer to furniture supplied for it some time earlier.
38. Lumb, *op. cit.*
39. Linstrum, *op. cit.,* p. 105.

Meanwood Hall (John Clark: c.1834).[40] Having built it, however, John Denison abruptly changed his mind. His brother was left in charge of the business,[41] and, from the architectural work he commissioned there, it is evident that Denison was concentrating his attention on his landed estate at Ossington.[42] In January 1791 Nicholson billed him for drawing up advertisements for the sale of Denison Hall,[43] and this being unsuccessful, it was let to Sir Richard van Bempde Johnson of Hackness Hall in 1796.[44] In 1823 its then owner, George Rawson, commissioned Watson and Pritchett to build Hanover Square with Denison Hall as its north side,[45] and its life as a suburban villa in its own grounds was over. For John Denison its useful life had been two years.

These seem to be all the known facts relating to John Denison's ownership of his Leeds house, and they do not include the name of his architect. The leading Leeds architect in 1786 was William Johnson,[46] but his name does not seem to feature. Three possibilities remain. The first is John Carr, who had worked for John Denison's uncles, and seven of whose craftsmen (Lister, Rhodes, Sutcliffe, Hargreaves, Rothwell, Wade and Rodgers) worked at Denison Hall. Any of these seven, however, could have been introduced to John Denison through their patrons rather than through their architect: three had worked for John Denison's uncle, four had worked for Sir James Ibbetson at Denton, and one had worked for Edwin Lascelles at Harewood. (Ibbetson and Lascelles were also Leeds merchants and known to the Denisons). One had been personally recommended by Sir Walter Vavasour. And Rodgers was the leading Leeds smith.

The second possibility is William Lindley, who started his career with Carr,[47] and might have habitually used the same craftsmen as his former master. Lindley's chief claim is that he was John Denison's architect at Ossington Hall from 1788.[48] However, the claim that he was working at Ossington from 1785 (before Denison Hall was begun) is based on the misreading of a date on his proposed elevation 'No.1.' for the entrance front.[49] In fact this drawing is dated 1788. The earliest drawing that Lindley made for John Denison is an elevation of a farmhouse, its location unknown, dated 1787.[50] On the other hand, a William Linley (sic) had been employed by William Denison as early as 1754, when, together with a W. Wormald, he had been paid £1 17*s* for bricks and lime for an unidentified building project on Denison property in Woodhouse.[51] And in 1763 a 'Lindley' was paid £9 in a combined payment to five men, who included a Sutcliffe, possibly the bricklayer of that name, for unspecified services.[52] This may be another William Lindley, perhaps even a relation. But if it is the same it suggests that the elder Denison had employed John Carr back in 1754, for William Lindley described himself in 1774 as having been Carr's assistant for upward of twenty years.[53] And it also strengthens Lindley's candidature as architect of Denison Hall.

The third possibility is John Soane. His claim rests on his being Denison's architect (at Ossington) when Denison Hall was being built. Soane's first Ossington drawings are dated April 1786, and would have been in Denison's possession while he was negotiating the purchase, advertising for masons, and letting the contracts. The somewhat old-fashioned method of work organisation, by separate contracts with different craftsmen,

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40. *Ibid*, pp. 81-3.
41. Wilson, *op. cit.*
42. Denison Papers, De 2P/28 *et seq.*
43. Denison Papers, De H 8, *Vouchers 1786-9* ('Jno. Denison Esqr. to Lucas Nicholson').
44. Wilson, *op. cit.*
45. Linstrum, *op. cit.*, p. 105. Hanover Square's east side, Claremont Avenue and Claremont Terrace separate Denison Hall from Claremont, built on a similar site some 30 years earlier.
46. *Ibid*, p. 379 and H. M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 1978, p. 466.
47. Colvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-2.
48. Johnson, *op. cit.*
49. Denison Papers, De 2P/28.
50. Denison Papers, De 2P/140.
51. Denison Papers, De H 41.
52. *Idem.*
53. Colvin, *loc. cit.*

also suggests the absence of on-site supervision by an architect. In 1786 it was more common for an architect to let the contracts himself, if not to provide his own craftsmen, rather than leaving it, as the story of the shy plasterer indicates, to a solicitor. But this might have had to happen if a distant metropolitan architect had sent plans only. And a metropolitan architect seems in character with John Denison, who was spending over £300 on metropolitan upholsterers. George Seddon and Son had worked for Adam at Croome Court and Audley End,[54] and were to work (under Chambers' direction) for Charles IV of Spain,[55] and for the Prince Regent at the Brighton Pavilion,[56] and at Windsor Castle.[57] George Seddon was by origin a Manchester Unitarian, and had worked once (in 1778) in Yorkshire, on the Pease house in Charlotte Street, Hull.[58] But this was the exception to a metropolitan rule.

The style of the house seems to eliminate John Carr,[59] but not William Lindley, or the early John Soane. Its most idiosyncratic feature is its plan. Although the principal elevation is to the south, where the view is and doubtless the original garden stood (now replaced by Hanover Square), the entrance was evidently always intended to be where it is now, on the east side. The south front has five bays of three storeys (the central three with a pedimented frontispiece) flanked by bowed wings, only two storeys in height,



Fig. 1. Denison Hall, Leeds, from the S.
Photos: RCHME. Crown copyright.

54. Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Woodwork, File on George Seddon, consulted by kind permission of Mr. Clive Wainwright.
55. *Idem.*
56. John Morley, *The Making of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton,* 1984, p. 24.
57. Geoffrey de Bellaigue and Pat Kirkham, 'George IV and the Furnishing of Windsor Castle', *Furniture History VIII,* 1972.
58. Christopher Gilbert and Ivan Hall, 'New Light on the firm of Seddon', *Leeds Art Calendar,* 68, 1971.
59. Dr. Ivan Hall, author of the forthcoming biography of Carr, confirms this view.



Fig. 2. Denison Hall: the staircase and hall.

which as the contracts reveal, are not additions. Yet, of the three French windows underneath the pediment, none has any ornamental treatment at all to suggest the principal entrance, and the central one leads into a small lobby which can never have been a hall. On the other hand the door in the east elevation has three quarter columns taking a pediment. It leads into an obvious vestibule (unheated) with important rooms leading off it symmetrically left and right, and separated from the room in front of it by a colonnaded screen. This room, the most important in the house, is a centrally-placed, top-lit oval stair hall. The stair is stone and cantilevered, with an exquisite iron balustrade whose balusters take the form of ribbons looped in figure-of-8 shapes, doubtless the work of John Rodgers. Above it is a dome with ornamental plasterwork of some delicacy. Symmetrical though this room is on the east-west axis, it is assymetrical on the south axis. Clearly the principal elevation was designed to face the view, while the entrance was relegated to the side elevation of a lower wing, the side nearest to town. It is a plan which interestingly illustrates the *ad hoc* nature of late eighteenth-century

planning. It is quite consistent with Soane's early plan types,[60] but his authorship cannot be regarded as more than a possibility.

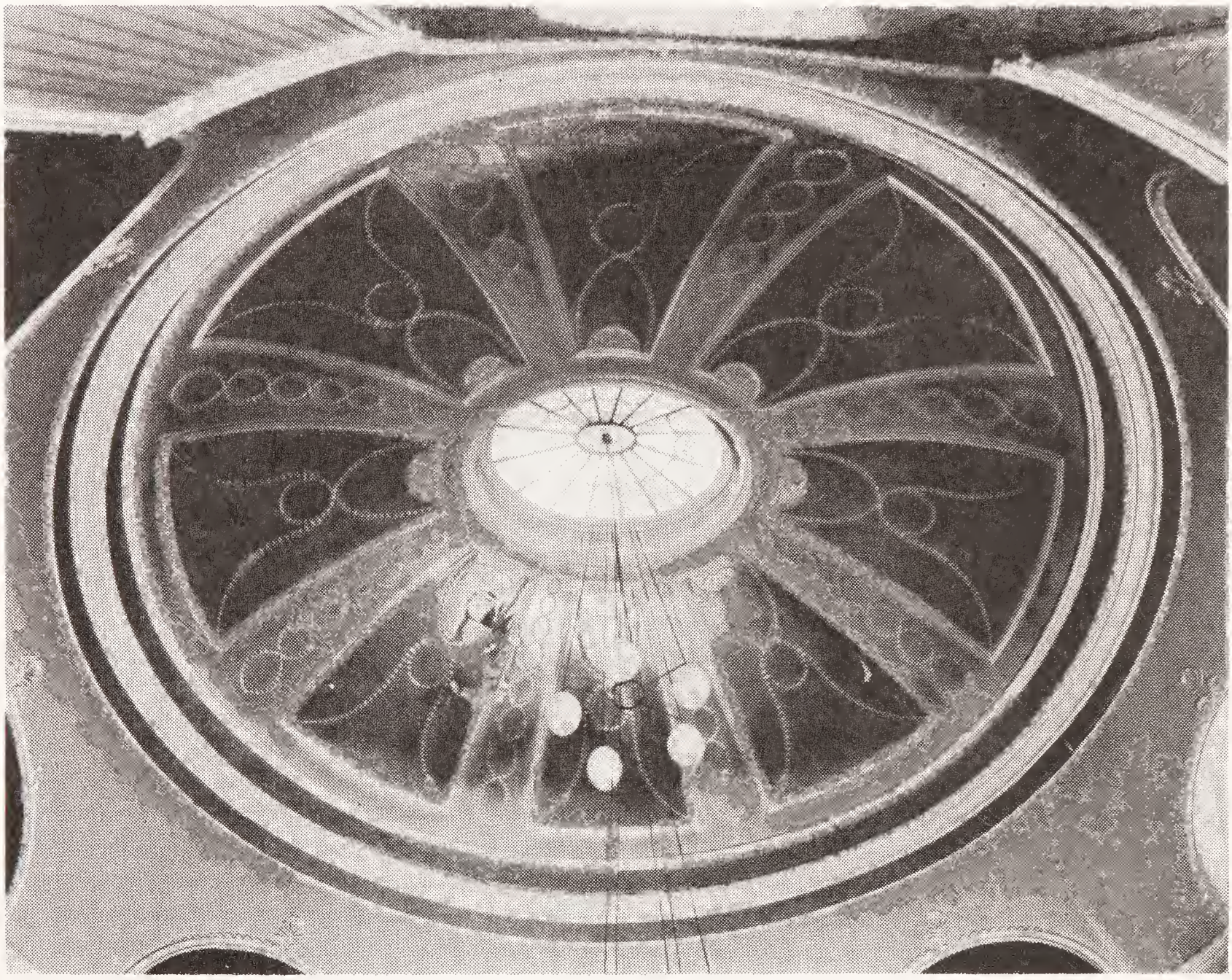


Fig. 3. Denison Hall: detail of dome on the stairhall.

60. See especially Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *John Soane: The Making of an Architect*, 1982.

YORKSHIRE'S EARLY WARNING SYSTEM, 1916-1936

By E.W. Sockett

Summary:–

The British "Early Warning System" before the advent of Radar in 1936 was intended to consist partly of a chain of concrete, concaved mirrors along the coast line from Southampton to Northumberland. The three surviving Yorkshire examples have a number of interesting and unique features, recorded in this article.

Introduction

In the first two years of World War 1, British shores were open to two forms of attack – that from the sea, as illustrated by the German High Seas Fleet attack upon Hartlepool, Whitby and Scarborough in December 1914, and the foiling of later attempts subsequently.[1] More worrying, because of its nocturnal frequency and its novelty as a form of warfare, were the German Naval Airship attacks from their Nordholtz base, between Cuxhaven and Bremerhaven. Initially, German aircraft did not have a similar range or endurance to the airships,[2] and, after 1918 only the French Air Force formed any kind of threat to the British people.[3] The first line of defence against the Zeppelin raids was the interception of their wireless transmissions by stations like Stockton on Tees.[4] These transmissions followed a formalised pattern and the German wireless discipline was often lax. Further, our interception methods and the skill of the Royal Naval decoders in Whitehall were excellent.[5] In this way, England derived its "first warning", which was not only passed round door to door in Skinningrove, but often had fatal results for the enemy, which was tracked, as far as possible, by all its messages.[6] When the raiding Zeppelin crossed the British Coast, its presence was reported by ground observers – the forerunners of the Royal Observer Corps.[7] Between these two reports there was a vital time gap which influenced the positioning of the British defending aircraft. It was intended to fill this time gap and to provide more detailed information for the defenders by using Acoustical Sound Mirrors. However, the attempt to track the raid by sound produced, almost unintentionally, the efficient Sector Control System of Reporting which was a primary factor in the defeat of the Luftwaffe

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1. Chalmers, Rear Admiral, W.S. 1951, *The Life and Letters of David, Earl Beatty,* Hodder and Stoughton, Chap.9 and pp 273ff. Also, Winton, John, 1981, *Jellicoe,* Michael Joseph, p.226, for contrast regarding German Target.
2. 13 June, 1917, German daylight raid and "parade" at will over London.
3. France possessed a modern air force, and since its government frequently disagreed with Britain over the early Treaties of 1920's, Colonial matters etc, and the blockade of Spain during its Civil War, such matters were regarded as potential "flash-points". Nor was this potential threat a purely British anxiety, party based upon the non-existence of a German Air Force, but many European Writers of Fiction took as their theme a potential conflict between Britain and France, especially in "War in the Air" scenarios.
4. Sockett, E.W. 1988 (January Edition); *C.B.A. 3 Newsbulletin* Stockton-on-Tees Y Station.
5. Poolman, Kenneth, 1960. *Zeppelins over England,* Evans Bros, p.56. discuss this point in detail.
6. See Note 29. Marconi have released photographs of the plotting by wireless interception methods of Zeppelins and other German raiders during World War 1. My own family was involved to a limited extent. The evidence from diaries and from Skinningrove's own History of its Steel Works suggests that even the civilian population received a "first warning" by a call at their houses and this was a long time before a raid actually materialised. Students familiar with sources in Note 1 above will notice the same point manifest in the excellence of Royal Navy Intelligence.
7. Wood, Derek, 1976, *Attack Warning Red,* MacDonald and Janes, Chapters One and Two discuss the detail.

in 1940 and, in modified form, still defends our coastlines today.

There are three types of sound mirrors[8]
a) Dish mirrors which developed into Bowl Mirrors. This is the category which is important in the Yorkshire context. They were referred to as Coast Watchers or Track Plotting Mirrors.
b) Disc Mirrors and Listening Wells. The former were simply a concaved, concrete disc mirror, laid into the surface of the ground in double rows, three miles apart, with an individual separation of half a mile, increased to a mile on modification.
c) was a 200 feet curved wall (sometimes described in terms of 150 feet), with microphones placed in a trench in front of it and referred to as Sentry.

Dating of the Mirrors

This is a difficult problem which cannot be fully resolved, since the Building Certificates do not survive and Planning permission was not required until 1947. In any case, many were erected on an *ad hoc* basis by Royal Engineers, who were mainly responsible in the post-War period (i.e. 1920's) for experimenting, training and usage. However, on 30 October 1929, Wing Commander Bingley, then Chief Air Staff Officer, produced a Memorandum of the Acoustic Experiments to date[9] for the benefit of the Commander-in-Chief, R.A.F. of the A.D.G.B.[10] In this document he claimed that prior to 1928, "the War Office carried out experiments with acoustical apparatus with a view to obtaining early warning of raiders approaching our shores. These (devices) were of semi-spherical design and were constructed of concrete to various sizes". His description adds:– "a mobile microphone was mounted near the centre of the construction so that sounds were collected and amplified by the microphone. The war-time constructions were provided on the Isle of Sheppey and at various other points." Later, he states, that the A.D.E.E. erected "three 20 ft. experimental sound collectors at Hythe, Dungeness and near Dover.[11] These were described as 'Mirrors' or 'Coast Watchers'. They are of similar design to the war-time fixed type". He explains that an error in orientating the Hythe Central Mirror resulted in the complex producing indifferent results.

It is clear from this Memorandum that the first World War type was made of concrete, semi-spherical in shape and of varying sizes, and possibly smaller than the 20 ft. Mirrors of the Hythe Complex which are post-war. They were, in fact, tested in 1926,[12] when "it was hoped to have next year (i.e. 1929) two working at Hythe and Dungeness.[13] The smaller mirrors (of 15 ft. diameter) were of 1916 date and were obsolete by 9 March 1936, when they were acclaimed as being very effective during the late War.[14] More personal testaments can be added to this documentary evidence. Brigadier R. J. Levendon claims that Mirrors were first established during World War 1.[15] Mr. J. R. V. Carter of East Loftus was a ten year old boy at the time and he

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8. Collyer, David, 1982, *Kent's Listening Ears,* Aeromilitaria Special by Air Britain (Historians) Ltd. via 5 Walnut Tree Road, Shepperton, Middlesex TW17 0RW.
9. P.R.O. Kew, Air 16/304/140. 171A.
10. Means Air Defence of Great Britain. Its Headquarters are still at Bentley Priory, though the old building was virtually destroyed by fire recently.
11. Air Defence Experimental Establishment consisted of a number of scientists and Royal Engineer Scientists, including the redoubtable Major Tucker, whose technical mind was almost legendary. The Unit was situated at R.A.F. Biggin Hill.
12. P.R.O. Kew, Air Ministry Letter, para 3, 19 April 1927, AVIA 7/2764. Individual building requirements are discussed in many references within this reference area.
13. P.R.O. Kew Air 16/304 (153A) relating to a War Office Conference on Anti-Aircraft Acoustics of 4 December 1928. The Mirrors were to be of a new design (i.e. spherical of bowl shaped).
14. P.R.O. Kew, 7/3187 – C.R.E. 105/JG.
15. *Royal Artillery Journal,* September 1981, pp.121-124 by courtesy of M.O.D. Librarian.

remembers, in detail, the erection and mode of operation of the Boulby Mirror, which has a 15 feet mirror.[16] Redcar's version is similar to it and is classified as being of similar date. Both versions correspond with that at Warden Point, Sheppey,[17] which was in fragments, having collapsed over the cliff.[18] Its size may be larger than Redcar's (i.e. a 20 ft. Mirror) and therefore it may be post- 1918. The Mirror at Kilnsea is a slab mirror with a 15 ft. diameter. It is paralleled by a similar mirror at Greatstone, Kent, but the shape of the top half of the mirror is different. Its Kentish cousin has a larger mirror, being some 20 ft. in diameter.[19] Whilst the difference in shape may be accounted for by different solutions to reducing wind-pressure, the size of the mirror suggests that the Kilnsea Mirror is older.

The Three Yorkshire Mirrors

The three known at the moment are at a) Kilnsea, near Spurn Head, (TA 410 168), b) Boulby Cliff, north of Staithes on the Yorkshire Coast, (NZ 754 193), and c) Marske near Redcar, Cleveland, (NZ 614 229). The last two are classified as Grade II Historic Buildings. The status of the former is not known.

The Kilnsea Mirror (Figs. 1-3)

This is a slab Mirror, with no supporting side walls. Its head shape is that of half a hexagon, presumably to make it more resistant to wind strength, especially since it stands in a very bleak and unsheltered position, some 500 m. from the cliff edge. The whole area is riddled with former military ruins, including, interestingly enough, a tunnel leading to the cliff edge. In the First World War, there were two 9.2 ins. guns near here,[20] and if these were linked to their ammunition bunkers by the tunnel, then the tunnel must have been a concession to the efficient working of the Sound Mirror. The point is not proven. The mirror stands on a concrete platform and is some 16ft. high. The aperture of the mirror is 15ft., with an overall width of 17ft. At the focal point, the mirror is 3½ft. deep. Its main construction is probably concrete blocks, unless the two which are visible are a repair job to take the weight of the top half of the mirror. The whole surface, except the mirror which has been finished "smooth and free from cracks",[21] is in rough-rendered slag-concrete. It has been "pecked" at variable 3ins.

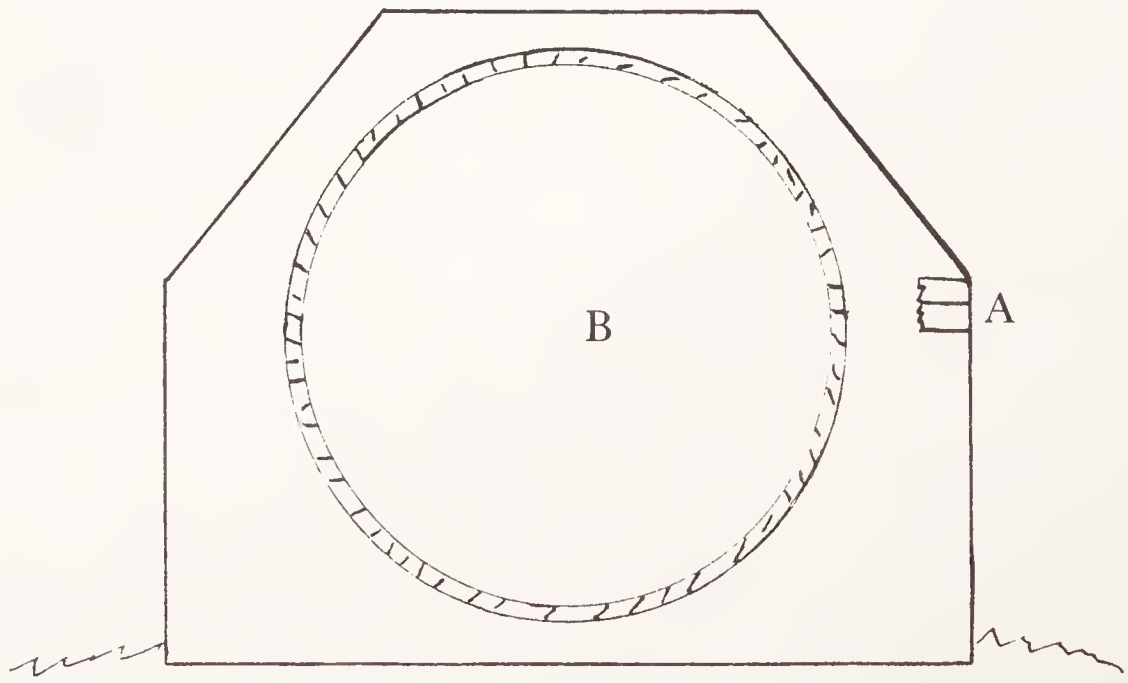


Fig. 1. Kilnsea Sound Mirror: east face. 1:48.

16. J.R.V. Carter, undermanager, eventually, of Skinningrove Iron Works.
17. Collyer 1981 p.24.
18. Collyer, D., Letter 30 Sept. 1986 to D.E. Thompson by kind permission of Cleveland County Council.
19. Collyer 1981, p.11.
20. P.R.O. Kew WO 32/5528.
21. Lydden Spout Plans, 1927, by MOD, Librarian's kindness.

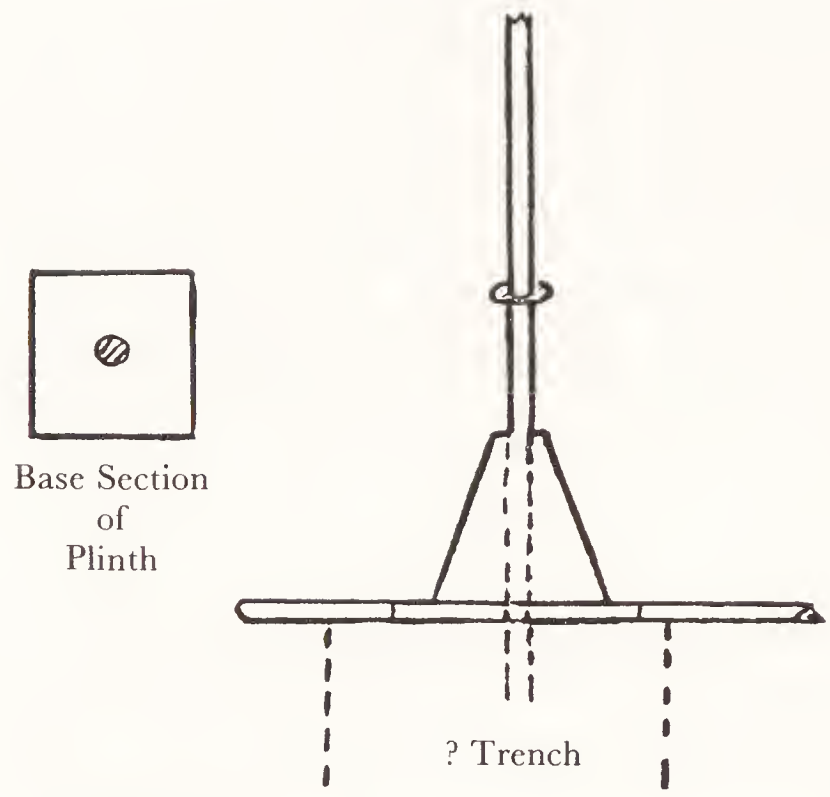


Fig. 2. Kilnsea Sound Mirror: microphone mounting and suspected listening trench. 1:48.

intervals, with the broad point of a pick. The mirror, with its pecked rim – a feature not found on the other Yorkshire examples – is probably reinforced with ½ in. diameter steel rods, wired at the crossings. It is difficult to estimate the original retrograde angle of the mirror, owing to displacement through ploughing and other agents, but it faced due east and probably had a retrograde tilt of 5 to 10 degrees. In front of the mirror, some 10ft. distant, the plinth still stands – a most welcome and unusual survival. The plinth, made of concrete, is 2ft. square and 2ft. high tapering at its top to about one foot square. It is constructed around a 2½ in. diameter pipe, which is extant to a height of five feet. On top of this pipe the Collector Head would have swivelled (it was originally a moveable trumpet shape) to indicate the raider's course. Its connecting wires would pass down the inside of the pipe. Two tube flanges still exist on this tube and the plans of a similar structure built at Lynden Spout, Dover, show that these were to be supplied from Royal Engineers' stores.

According to the Lynden Spout plans, these structures were to be seated upon a 12 in. flooring, reinforced with ½ in. diameter expanded steel wire, and, although this would seem to be the case here from surface indications, immediately to the foot of the south side of the plinth, there is a suggestion of a trench or bunker entrance in which the Observer (he was called The Listener) was seated to operate his stethoscope head-set. He noted the bearing of the incoming raider, obtained via the Collector head's movement to pick up the strongest reflection. Such ear-pieces were very tedious to hold and they were eventually replaced by a more orthodox headset, so freeing the Listener's hands for concentration upon bearings etc.[22] His findings were reported to the Sector H.Q. which in turn could inform A.D.G.B. H.Q. at Bentley Priory.

Since many of the details of the Kilnsea Mirror correspond to those of that at Lynden Spout, Dover, which was erected in 1927,[23] the Kilnsea Mirror, may belong to the same period, though it is smaller and therefore suggests a pre-1918 date. The Listeners were supplied mainly by Territorial Army units, trained by Royal Engineers, though for various exercises specially selected R.A.F. personnel were seconded for the duration of the exercise.[24]

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22. P.R.O. Kew AVIA 17/31 Report 92, August 1934.
23. MOD. Librarian, with thanks.
24. P.R.O. Kew, AVIA 7/2764 letter 19 April, 1927 to Under Secretary of State War Office from Air Ministry.

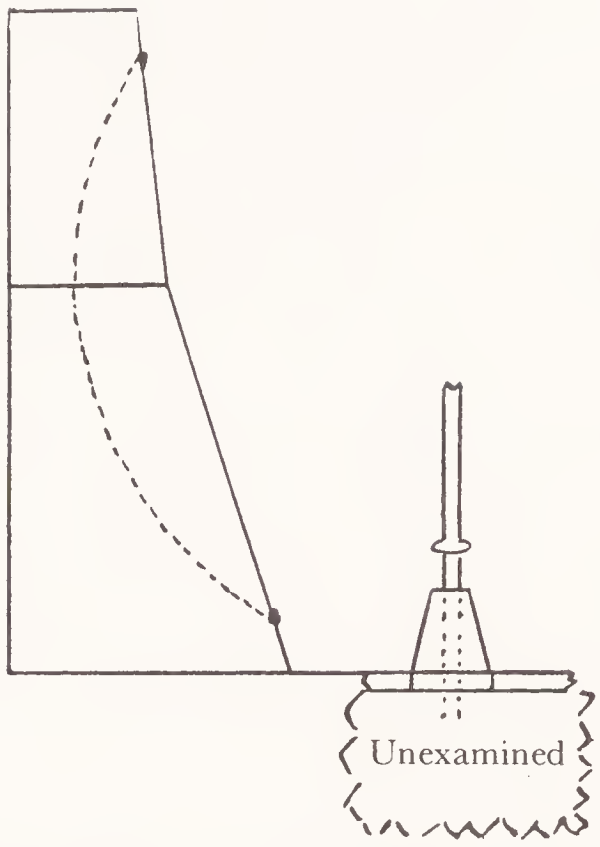


Fig. 3. Kilnsea Sound Mirror: central section from south. 1:48.

The Boulby Mirror (Figs. 4)

This Grade II Acoustical Mirror is 50m. west of Boulby Barn Cottage, off the north side of the Boulby road and adjacent to the Armada Beacon site as well as a modern Decca Wireless Tower. For the time being, it must be dated as a 1916 construction from the evidence of Mr. J.R.V. Carter, who saw it being erected in that year when he was 10 years old. It fulfils many of the criteria of early mirrors.[25] It has a "skin" of rough-rendered cast slag-concrete, which hides a structure of similarly reinforced concrete, erected by means of corrugated-iron shuttering. It is a squared U-shaped plan, some 17ft. high. Its two side walls are 'splayed' out to 22ft. across, compared with the back wall's 20ft. The side walls narrow from 13ft. at ground level to 3ft. along their top edges. The inside measurement of the side wall at the diameter of the mirror is 7½ft. The aperture of the smoothed concrete concaved mirror is 15ft. diameter. Its shape, however, is not a true circle, but is semi-spherical especially towards ground-level. The retrograde angle of the mirror is greater than Redcar's, being as much as 40 degrees. The thickness of the back wall at the base is 6ft. and at the top 3ft, which stresses the same point,

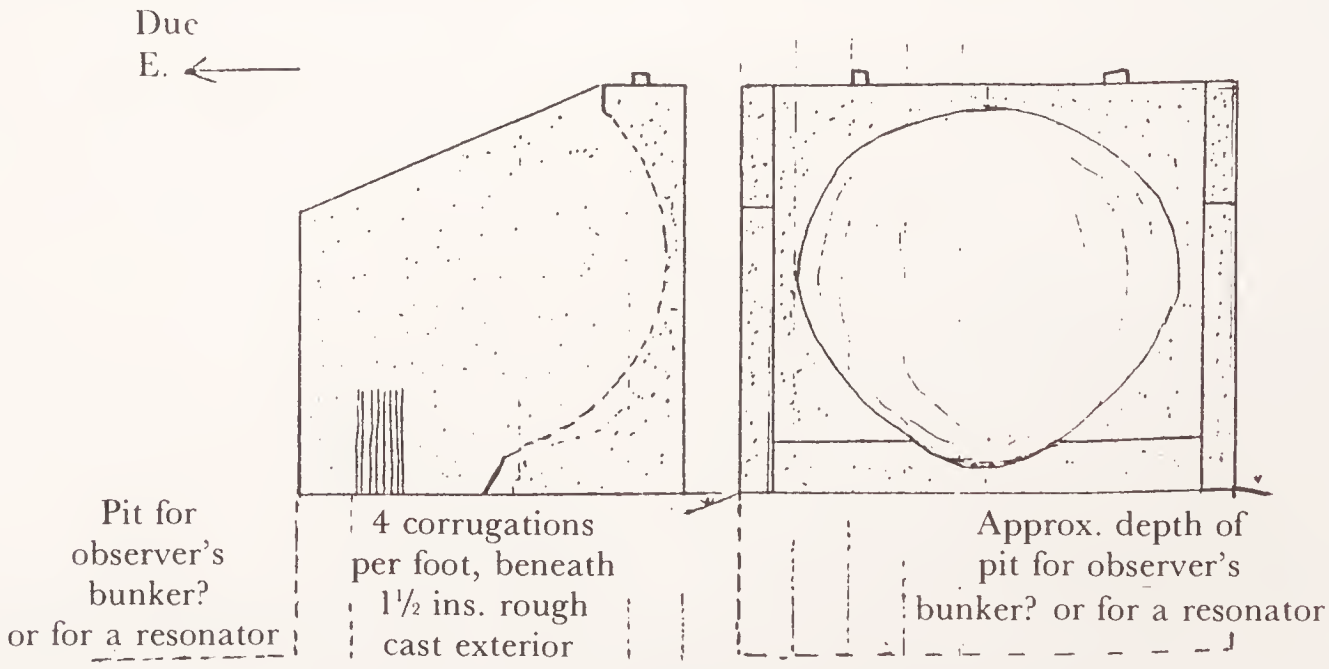


Fig. 4. Sound locator, Boulby: side walls and east face.

25. By courtesy of J.R.V. Carter, born 1906.

namely, that this mirror was concerned with air traffic and not sea traffic. It is set back 600m. from the cliff edge – a noted view point – so excluding interference from the sea. Two slight stone projections at one-third and two-third intervals, approximately on top of the back wall, suggest the provision of a gantry to hold two microphones, thus giving the Listener a bi-aural response. No plinth has survived, if there was one. But a depression within the arms of the two side walls suggest that there was a bunker or trench for the operator. This covers the point insisted upon by Mr. Carter that the Listener went inside to take up "Watch" position. The Mirror is fixed and immobile, and faces due East.

Mr. Collyer considers that the "contractors misread their plans as the buttresses (i.e. the side-walls) at the front would have spoilt the acoustics".[26] In this connection, both Boulby and, to a lesser extent, Redcar Mirrors resemble a Kentish one at Warden Point, Sheppey, now in pieces at the bottom of a cliff.[27] Therefore, if the slab mirrors are later in date (see Kilnsea), then the abolition of the side walls, perhaps more suitable in bleak Northern conditions and necessary on its glutinous clays, may represent a later modification to increase the mirror's efficient working. The Territorial Army would man the Sound Locators.[28] The need for Boulby's Locator was undoubtedly to provide close warning of the approach of Zeppelins. The people of Skinningrove and Loftus were given "First Warnings" of the approach of Zeppelins and "Close Warnings", which could have emanated from either the Observers or the Listeners. Mr. Carter thinks the latter. (This matter needs a further article to discuss the implications). The Zeppelins' target was the Skinningrove Iron Works which were bombed many times. A surviving diary gives many of the occurences with as many as 160 bombs being dropped on that area, including the Steel Works, on 8 August, 1916.[29] The reason for such frequent attacks is given in the Official History of Skinningrove,[30] that the Ministry of Munitions had persuaded the company at a time of maximum U-Boat pressure, to carry out "nationally significant research on high explosives." "It was the only steel company to make high explosives at a time when there was a critical shortage of T.N.T." Their "one-stage" process had to be abandoned for a less dangerous two-stage process carried out by an E.C. Tidman and a senior Birmingham University student, each working twelve-hour shifts, and they alone being allowed to conduct this work, which they did without accident. Moreover, later on, as a by-product of its coke ovens, it was a prime maker of mustard gas. Again, a further article will enlarge upon these matters, but it must be stressed that German Intelligence must have had some knowledge of the target's value.

The Redcar Mirror (Figs. 5)

This Mirror is situated 330m. north of Wheatlands Farmhouse, Redcar Road, off the North side, and is classified as a Grade II* Listed Building. It is 1200m. from the coastline and is situated on the flat plain, guarding the Tees Estuary, so its orientation is north east. Though resembling the Kentish Warren Point Mirror in size and U-shaped plan, there is a major difference in the way that the buttresses (or side walls) join the back wall. They are not hypoteneuses of right-angled triangles, but are ramped, i.e. the side wall is joined to the back wall by a flat section some 2½ft. long. Collyer's arguments of Royal Engineer constructors misreading their plans and the side walls, as

26. Collyer – Correspondence kindly supplied by Cleveland County Council.
27. Collyer, 1981 p.24.
28. P.R.O. Kew, AIR 16/304 Air Ministry Letter to War Office. 19 April 1927 asks for various kinds of sound locators: with "greater ease of operation in such instruments, particularly in view of the intermittent training of the Territorial personnel who are to use them". See note 35 illustrating the use of sound locators during the Doodlebug period of the Second World War.
29. The diaries are privately owned by the Carter family. P.98, 107 to 108, 109.
30. Willis, W.G. 1968, *A History of Skinningrove Iron Company Ltd.*, Ben Johnson of York. p.7/8.

a consequence, having a detrimental effect upon the Listener's ability to focus on incoming stimuli, can be countered by a consideration of the size of the retro-grade inclination of the Mirror which would overcome the "still air objection", provide the Listener with wind protection and stabilise the whole structure on the slippery clays of the coastal plain. Unfortunately there is no surface indication to show that the Mirror had a fore-trench or bunker to house the Listener, since the area has been landscaped. It is noteworthy that many of the Slab Mirrors do suffer displacement, as at Kilnsea, and this may be attributable to the lack of some additional support in construction. The Redcar Mirror is the least exciting of the three to demonstrate. It was constructed out of rough rendered slag-concrete. It has smooth, concrete concaved mirror, whose aperture is 15ft. Its angle of elevation is about 20 degrees and it has no rim. It was constructed using corrugated sheets but there is no sign of "pecking", reliance being placed upon its hard outer skin for protection against the elements. Since it has strong similarities to the Boulby Mirror and also because it stands adjacent to an Army and Territorial camp of long ancestry, as well as a camp which was concerned with Anti-Aircraft training, it is assumed that the date is 1916.[31] Its defence role was to keep a guardian eye over Teesside Industry and Skinningrove too, since the Mirror is fixed and immobile.

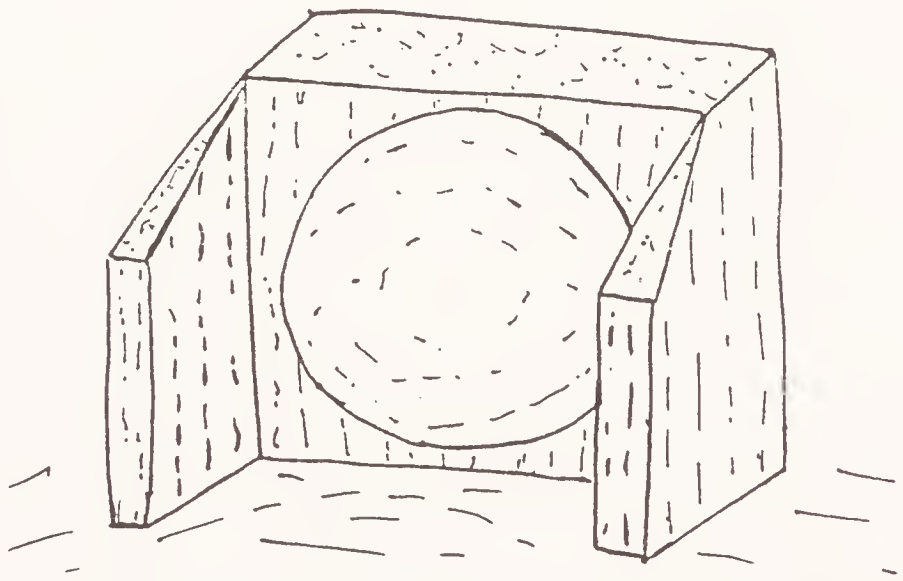


Fig. 5. Sound locator, Wheatlands Farm, Redcar. 1:48.

Post-1918 Usage

After 1918 the Air Defence Experimental Establishment at Biggin Hill, together with the Royal Engineers, stationed at Dover Castle, carried out many experiments in Sound Location, even in 1934, not all of them directed at incoming hostile raiders.[32] Their work went into 'lower gear', as it were, after 1936, when R.D.F. (Radar) appeared, but not entirely so, since sound locators were a necessary component of many search-light detachments. They even devised an acoustical proximity fuse for the guns, which never saw active service. So these Mirrors were used at Army camps to give 'live practice' to balance hours of work in drill halls using a multitude of training devices.

Strangely, Yorkshire is not mentioned as a recipient of training devices but 307 (Tyne) A.A. Searchlight Co. R.E. (T.A.) was receiving trainers in 1929 and 1931.[33] The Paraboloid Locators (those familiar in war-time pictures) were to be issued "about

31. Verbal Communication from Langbaurgh Town Planning Dept. In the List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest for the Borough of Langbaurgh, parish of Redcar, issued in April 1988, it is described as a Listening Post.
32. P.R.O. Kew. AVIA 17/31 p.20.
33. P.R.O. Kew. AVIA 7/2898 (20 December 1929) and 2878 (31 March 1931). Members of Tyneside units were quite often precision experts working on search-lights during their daily employment and they contributed many modifications to optical and telescopic military equipment.

December 1937", and a drill hall could hold three of these, plus five of the earlier Mark III's in peace-time.[34] A suggested reason for favouring Tyneside may be found in the fact that men in that T.A. unit probably worked for the firm who made the searchlights, and local records show that Tyne units quite often contributed modifications to this kind of equipment. Even trainers based upon buzzers and records were in use. Part of the reason for this training was that it was fully expected that the south and east coasts of England would be equipped eventually with Sentry (150 to 200ft. versions) and Coast Watcher (with the new 20 or even 30ft. Mirrors). Disc mirrors fell out of favour in 1934. Hence the obsolete mirrors were probably retained in the meanwhile for "live practice". Remarkably enough, although Radar did supersede this equipment, during the German V1 and V2 attacks upon this country and in Malta, Sound Locators were used temporarily in 1944 to counter German interference with British Radar.[35] Like more modern Radar, Acoustical Sound Mirrors could only give these shores a 4 minute "Early Warning", so, perhaps, the Roman Signal Station and the Armada Beacon were not so inefficient as they seem to some people today.

34. P.R.O. Kew AVIA 7/2898 (126195) para III.
35. Pile, General Sir Frederick, 1949. *Ack-Ack*, Geo Harrap. p.315.

TWO LATE ANGLO-SAXON STRAP-ENDS FROM SOUTH YORKSHIRE

By C.R. Hart

During 1986, two late Anglo-Saxon metal objects were brought into Sheffield City Museums for identification and conservation. Both are of the commonest type of late Saxon metalwork; the strap-end. These strap-ends would have formed the terminals of an accessory strap or girdle hung loosely around the waist. Both strap-ends were found in the civil parish of Thorpe Salvin, lying adjacent to the western parish boundary formed by the ancient road called "Packman Lane". We are left wondering as to the circumstances leading up to the loss of these strap-ends, and also how and why both objects came to be discovered in the same year. Packman Lane has been used as a major high-way to the north and south for many centuries, as is evidenced by the findings of Roman coin hoards near to the road, as well as from numerous historic documentary sources describing this important corridor.

The first strap-end to be reported, and kindly donated to Sheffield City Museum was found in plough soils by Mr. D. Stanley [Nat. Grid. ref. SK 5127 8050, accession no. SHEFM. 1986.48]. It is made of a copper alloy with what appears to be a white-metal surface [personal communication A. Walster] (Fig. 1). The butt-end has been rigorously severed from the remaining flat lozenge and zoomorphic terminal. Both faces are decorated with an inscribed twisted cable decoration along the long sides and a geometrical knot work form in the central field. This is embellished by a round cable wreath and within a plain geometrical crosshead of three, and four lenticular segments on each face. Beyond is a boar's head terminal. The eyes are leaf-shaped, between which there is a trapeze-shaped panel, and finally a series of coarse parallel hair lines emphasising the snout of the beast. The form is too naive to warrant a close judgement on date, but probably belongs to the tenth century A.D. Its length is 26cms, its maximum width 13cms and maximum thickness 1cm.

The second strap-end was also found in plough soils [SK 5098 8134] by Mr. M. Rossi and presented to Sheffield Museums [accession no. SHEFM 1987.202] (photograph). It is complete and is made of copper-alloy with possible nielloed silver ornamentation of

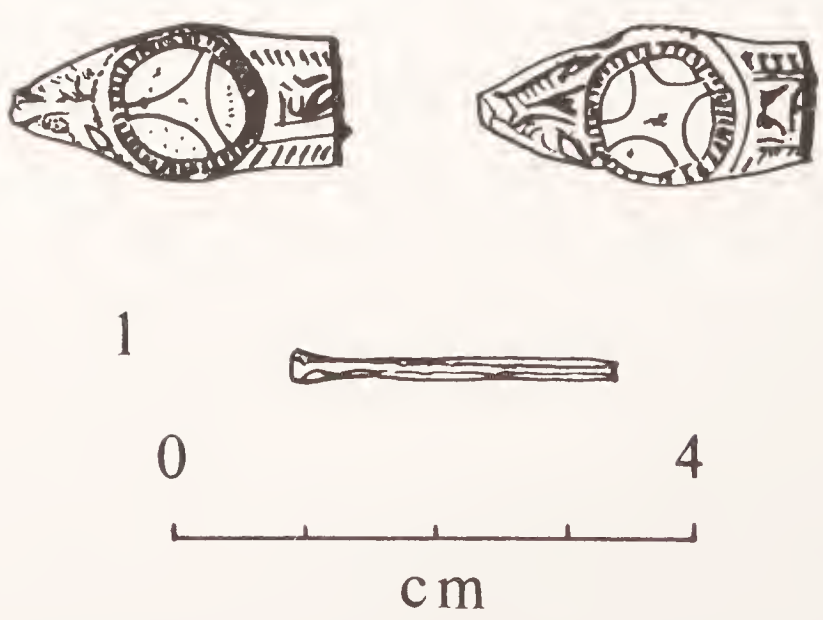


Fig. 1. Strap-end from Thorpe Salvin (SK 51278050).

the outer surface. This decoration using contrasting metals makes this strap-end almost unique.[1]

When seen from above, it takes the form of a plastic formalised animal head in relief. This is faceted to give the suggestion of substance. The eyes are rounded and the nose and eyebrows are emphasised by curved moulding to give an impression of depth. Behind the eyes is a kite-shaped sunken panel. The ears of the beast are incised and disarticulated V-shaped and crescentic openings indicative of a ninth-century date. The butt-end is split in the thickness of the metal and still carries one rectangular silver rivet set through one of the two circular rivet holes. A pendant trilobite leaf motif is carefully placed between these holes. The long sides of the central field are plain with an upper field centred on a hollow sided lozenge which bears traces of tinning or niello silver decoration forming a frame based on a plant like element and possibly two stylized deer in the opposing corners of the central field. The copper alloy back of the strap-end is plain and exhibits signs of wear.

This second strap-end is a much more accomplished piece of workmanship in contrast to the first which is stylistically naive, flat and dull. Its length is 5.4cm, its maximum width 1.7cm and maximum thickness 0.3cm. It might not be fanciful to connect the losses of these fittings by travellers attending the moots at Mexborough, or at the Muster Brook near Chesterfield.

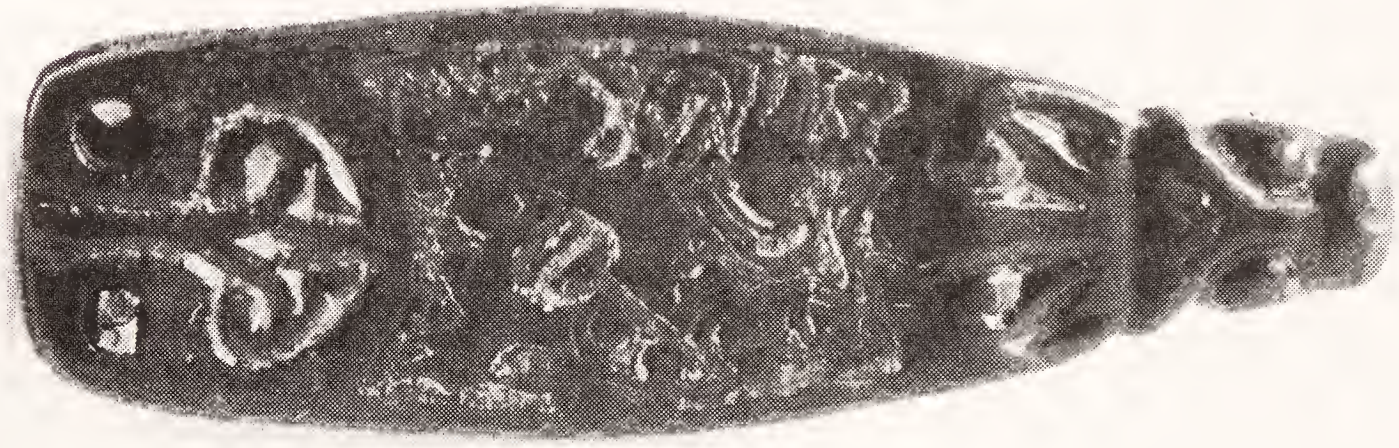


Fig. 2. Strap-end from Thorpe Salvin (SK 50988134).

1. D.M. Wilson, *Med. Arch* 8, 214-16 (1964).

BOOK REVIEWS

R. D. Bell, M. W. Beresford and others, *Wharram, a study of settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds. Vol. III Wharram Percy: the Church of St Martin*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph No. 11. 1987. £17.50.

This monograph has been long awaited – the main excavation of the church took place over the period 1962-1974 – and is undoubtedly a landmark in the history of church archaeology. It describes itself as 'the first major publication of the complete excavation of a rural medieval parish church, together with an extensive study of the fabric'. This is all true, but its significance is even more wide-ranging than that; whilst other churches (eg Barton on Humber and Hadstock) have been excavated and studied in the period since the commencement of the Wharram project, nowhere else in Britain has such a detailed church study been linked to the examination of a whole community and its changing fortunes over the past two millennia.

The bulk of the volume and its accompanying microfiche are concerned with the total excavation of the church, and a detailed structural examination of its above-ground fabric, yielding evidence from which a tentative reconstruction of the building's long structural history is put forward, linked to social and demographic changes in the community which the church served. The main elements in this history are well known, thanks to a series of interim reports, although their interpretations and conclusions are in some cases revised here.

In brief, a possible C10 timber church (based on posthole evidence) was replaced by a two-cell stone-built structure in the first half of the C11. This in turn was demolished in the early C12 when a larger two-cell church, with an apsidal sanctuary, was built. It seems to have been intended that this building should have a sizeable west tower, but after its arch had been built there was a change of plan and a much smaller tower was constructed straddling the west wall of the nave in an awkward manner. Late in the C12 a south aisle was added, and in the C13 the chancel was rebuilt square-ended and a north aisle and south porch added to the nave. Early in the C14, at the time of the parish population peak, a north-east chapel was added. With the Black Death, a crisis from which the Wolds never really recovered, the population was almost halved but there was a significant delay before this was reflected in the church fabric. Early in the C15 the south aisle was reconstructed with its east end (where there seems to have been a chapel overlapping the south wall of the chancel) truncated, but it was the late C15 or early C16, when the village was finally abandoned, before the congregational area was reduced by a third on the demolition of the nave aisles. The north-east chapel seems to have been taken down c. 1550, following the Chantries Act. Following the Dissolution of Haltemprice Priory (which had received the advowson in 1327) the Crown seems to have been negligent in its duties to maintain the chancel, but once again there was a time-lag between cause and effect – rebuilding on a much smaller scale – in the early 1600s. The dating evidence for the chancel reconstruction is of interest, and warns against trusting C19 texts! Allen's 1831 county history had stated that the chancel 'was rebuilt a few years ago', but beneath limewash on the south wall a painted inscription set in a decorative roundel in a style of c. 1600 was found. Subsequent to this various repairs and refacing had complicated the visible evidence.

In the light of this scholarly and detailed account, it is interesting (if a little daunting to those of us who attempt to interpret church fabrics in a tiny fraction of the time and effort spent at Wharram) to look at the questions that still remain unanswered. This is in a church which, archaeologically, had a 'remarkable depth' of accumulated deposits surviving intact (without the usual disturbance of a C19 underfloor heating system) and which retained a large amount of evidence of its structural changes.

No architectural features were recovered, even in a re-used context, that could convincingly be related to the early C11 church. No archaeological evidence of the 'large' tower evidently planned for the west end of the early C12 nave was ever found, although the conclusion that it was never actually built was seen as 'by no means the only possible interpretation'; the C12 apse may or may not have been like Birkin in having its own sanctuary arch; the evidence for a south-east chapel remains rather tentative, as do the dates for the demolition of the aisles. One re-used piece of mid-

wall shaft is linked to the openings of a C12 belfry rebuilt in the C14; having seen a number of C12 towers carrying C14 and C15 belfries elsewhere in Yorkshire, this reviewer was led to wonder whether the original belfry here might have been of timber, especially as there was evidence of fire damage to the tower preceeding the C14 alterations.

The situation is complicated by subsequent phases re-using earlier architectural features being re-used; the writers admit 'the chronology of several parts of the church is based on suppositions about original locations, which cannot be entirely substantiated'. The early C13 arch into the south aisle re-uses C12 chevron voussoirs, perhaps from the chancel arch; the N arcade was rebuilt in the early C14 re-using its early C13 central pier; the early C14 north aisle windows and early C15 south aisle windows were re-set in their respective nave walls when the aisles were demolished; the south porch re-uses a probable priest's door from the pre-C17 chancel. Such wholescale re-siting of features is known to occur in churches of all ranks (many years ago Micklethwaite and Walker were invoking re-use, once or even twice, of arcade piers in their interpretations of Wakefield Cathedral and St Helen's Church at Sandal Magna) and makes the 'guidebook' approach, in which a wall is dated stylistically by its architectural features, ever more dubious. A second, duly acknowledged, problem arises here; one can compare architectural features with those of neighbouring churches but these themselves may not be easily dateable. Stylistic dating, especially in the more remote rural areas, is itself often open to question.

Leaving behind doubts and problems, the report sets a standard which others will do well to maintain, and the structural drawings by J. C. Thorn are a model to follow. Documentary evidence, although exceptionally sparse (the earliest known illustration is a 1906 postcard) is scanned in detail; we are given figures for collections at services earlier this century, and a sad picture of dereliction following abandonment in 1949, with *minutiae* such as the survival 'for a long time' of a chamber pot in the vicar's vestry. I found one frustration under 'Mortuary Material Culture'; the descriptions and drawings of Pre-Conquest and Medieval grave slabs, by L. A. S. Butler, were relegated to the fiche, whilst illustrations of post-medieval coffin furniture appeared in the text. A pottery report appears in the text, but small finds and skeletal remains (of 76 individuals, all from within the church) are summarised in the text and dealt with more fully in the fiche. A full report on all 598 recorded burials at Wharram is still in preparation.

For a final overview of what all this archaeological and historical work has achieved, table 27 at the end of the monograph correlates Wharram Percy landowners, holders of the advowson, the archaeological phasing of the church, and relevant historical comments; the dates range from a cross fragment of c. 800 (from Area 6, not the church) to the revival of the annual summer service in the roofless church, now consolidated and conserved by the D.O.E., in 1982.

Riding Mill *Peter F. Ryder*
Northumberland

Janet E. Burton (ed), *English Episcopal Acta V: York 1070-1154*, Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1988; pp. li, 152. £25.00.

Dr. Burton's is the fifth in a series intended to publish the surviving *acta* or episcopal documents which were issued before the institution of episcopal registers, with the laudable aim of making more accessible an important source for the Norman and Angevin periods. Bishops' registers, which provide a systematic source for *acta,* begin in the thirteenth century, those for the diocese of York, beginning in 1225, being the earliest to survive except for Lincoln. The general editor of the series, Dr. D. M. Smith, has himself edited the Lincoln *acta* from 1067 to 1206 in two earlier volumes; here Dr. Burton provides a first instalment of the York *acta* preceding 1225. Altogether she prints texts or calendars of 138 *acta* of the first six archbishops after the Conquest; the text is preceded by a lengthy and learned introduction, and supplemented by three useful appendices and two very full indexes. The texts are meticulously referenced and beautifully printed, and I have noted no printing errors whatever. This handsome edition is an invaluable source for the history of the diocese under the four Norman kings (since Archbishop William Fitzherbert conveniently, but coincidentally, died in the same year as his uncle King Stephen).

The number of surviving *acta* may seem small for one of the largest English dioceses, but in addition to the loss of some known documents there is the fact that many grants have been made

without written confirmation: Appendix I lists other grants and confirmations where there is no evidence of a charter. The texts of all original documents are published in full (some for the first time), but in accordance with the policy of the series, non-originals are only calendared if satisfactorily published elsewhere. This is a pity, because not all readers will have access to the resources of a major library. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to carp at so splendid an addition to the printed materials for early Northern history.

The 138 *acta* include, naturally, documents concerning Nottinghamshire and other areas under the jurisdiction of the archbishops or in some ways dependent on them. Most, however, concern Yorkshire, and they provide a rich miscellany, especially on the towns of York and Beverley and on the foundation and endowment of the religious houses of the diocese. Previously unpublished *acta* include, for instance, the creation of two prebends in York Minster (no. 8) and a lengthy list of endowments for Kirkham Priory (no. 91) which takes the recorded existence of one York church back by another century. The topographical details are not always annotated, and there are occasional slips: thus the *vicum* of Monkgate should surely be translated as 'street' rather than 'village' (no. 8), while the York gate or bar of no. 15 was not Monk Bar but its predecessor on the site of the Roman *porta decumana*.

Beverley *D. M. Palliser*

Barry Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, Batsford, London 1988, pp. xii + 244, figs 76. £19.95.

In a book comparatively short for its ambitious scope Professor Cunliffe discusses the interaction between the civilized peoples of the Mediterranean and their barbarian neighbours to the north. Three chapters deal with the Greeks in southern Gaul, four with the Roman penetration and eventual conquest of Gaul, another (of 25 pages) with Britain, and the ninth with Roman influence beyond the Rhine. The final 'Retrospect' summarizes 'a vastly complex and constantly changing situation, only dimly visible to us through very fragmentary archaeological and historical evidence'. The long period covered (from 600 B.C. to A.D. 200) and the huge area surveyed means that the treatment of any site, region or period can only be superficial. Of the clearly drawn figures five are schematic diagrams of trade relations and one illustrates a point not discussed in the text. Others would be more useful if sites mentioned in the text, such as Lübsow or Przeworsk, were indicated on the maps. The dating of the Tropaeum Augusti at La Turbie to the 6th century B.C. is presumably not intended by the author. The publication will be a useful introduction to the topic, guide students to unfamiliar sources and provide a survey of current ideas.

Robert E. Finnegan, *The Cathedral Church of St Anne, Leeds*, Universe Publications, London 1988; pp. 118, ills 42 (6 colour). £4.95.

The history of Leeds Roman Catholic cathedral may remind readers of the growth of the first Christian communities in England from a few faithful scattered in rural centres to larger and more confident congregations meeting in successively more ambitious and elaborate buildings, their planning and decoration reflecting changes in taste and liturgical practice over the centuries. At Leeds a chapel was opened in 1780, replacing mass centres at Roundhay and Stourton. A simple building of 1793, resembling other nonconformist chapels, was replaced in 1838 by a Gothic church designed by John Child and embellished by Pugin. This became a cathedral in 1879, but was demolished for redevelopment of the city centre, being in turn succeeded by the present building in 1902-4. This was designed by J. H. Eastwood, assisted by S. K. Greenslade, and decorated by Cesare Formelli.

This book tells the story of the earlier churches and then describes the existing cathedral. Its decoration, fittings and arrangement changed frequently, due to the taste and enthusiasms of successive bishops and administrators, who scrapped and obliterated what their predecessors had admired. Such changes, which can be easily documented in a modern building, recall those in a medieval cathedral, only detectable by archaeology. There are brief biographies of the eight Bishops of Leeds and introductions by the present bishop and by Dr Nuttgens. Few will realize

that St Anne's enshrines relics of obscure Roman saints, Tranquillinus, Urban and Victoria, or know that the present position of the tower is due to legal action threatened by owners of neighbouring properties who objected to the original siting at the south-west. Some will quarrel with the description of the building as 'the most outstanding Roman Catholic cathedral in the country' after Westminster, and historians will be surprised to be told that St William of York was a monk of Whitby.

The publication, well supplied with photographs and plans, should attract visitors to an impressive building and reveal to them that a 20th-century church can have as complicated a history as an ancient one and owe as much to a few generous benefactors and vigorous bishops.

Andrew Fleming, *The Dartmoor Reaves,* Batsford, London, 1988. vii + 135 pp., 75 illustrations; £14.95.

The well preserved bronze age sites of Dartmoor have been studied sinced the nineteenth century. Their mention in Conan Doyle's story 'The Hound of the Baskervilles' may perhaps have brought the antiquities of Dartmoor to the attention of some present day archaeologists during their boyhood. It is therefore surprising that not until recently has a systematic examination been made of the remarkably extensive remains of ancient agriculture in the region.

"The Dartmoor Reaves" is written in a pleasantly informal style, and though intended for people with a general interest in prehistory, it will certainly be useful to more specialised readers who need an introduction to the subject. For those archaeologists who require more detailed information, the author promises full reports for future publication. The book, which is based on more than ten years' work by Andrew Fleming and his Sheffield University colleagues and students, describes an ancient landscape of bronze age date. The title is derived from the stony banks, locally called "reaves", which were built by bronze age farmers to divide up the land. Parallel reaves were the main elements in the boundaries of systems of fields, some of which ran across country for considerable distances. In some places the reaves are seen easily, but elsewhere they are overgrown or buried by peat and therefore more difficult to trace. Beyond the edge of the moor, their lines are sometimes still followed by modern field boundaries.

The first chapters describe the background. The reaves were originally noticed in the 1820s, but the early antiquaries unfortunately tended to confuse them with stony trackways, and their unusual characteristics were thereby obscured. Even in the 1950s they were not recognised by the distinguished archaeologists who investigated certain groups of ancient fields and hut circles on Dartmoor. They published plans of their sites showing long parallel walls running through them, but did not recognise them as prehistoric. The aerial and ground photographs which illustrate the present book make it hard to understand why the importance of the ancient landscape surviving on Dartmoor was missed by prehistorians for so long.

Two interesting chapters deal with the reaves and their relationship with the surrounding country. Beyond the parallel reaves and the fields they defined, there are large tracts of open ground, usually at higher altitude, which were apparently partitioned into separate areas of grazing land by linear boundary reaves. The territories of separate communities can be identified tentatively, each containing settlements, fields systematically divided by the parallel reaves, and areas of rough grazing land.

By referring to the maps and photographs, a good mental picture of the bronze age landscape of Dartmoor can be formed, though it is difficult to take in all the numerous place names mentioned in the text, some of which perhaps add little more than local colour. Parts of chapters 4 and 5 contain too many names in the text and too few on the maps. The careful reader can often help himself by pencilling missing place names on the maps, providing that he has available the 1/25,000 scale Ordnance Survey map of Dartmoor, as suggested in the preface, but it should not be necessary to do this.

Proceeding to another important stage of the investigation, the book next describes the excavation of selected short lengths of reaves, several round house sites and the ancient soils near them. The author's personal experience of the work, his narrative style and some good illustrations combine to give a very clear account of the course of an excavation. This description is something out of the ordinary for the general reader, and here we can be said to have real "popular archaeology" for the enquiring general reader, who can see how the puzzles about the structures

and their dates were gradually solved, and evidence obtained about bronze age agricultural methods.

The final chapters review the subject more generally, giving a summary of relevant aspects of Dartmoor prehistory, the countryside in which the bronze age farming communities lived and the lowland regions surrounding it. Possible links between the planning of the Dartmoor system of land division and the lay-out of similar areas of fields elsewhere in the British Isles are then considered. The author's useful term 'co-axial' is used to define fields with long parallel boundaries. This section is stimulating, though inevitably hampered by the limitations of our present knowledge of ancient field boundaries, most of which have been swept away by medieval and later cultivation. Yorkshire readers will be interested by his mentions of the co-axial ancient fields in the highland regions near Reeth in Swaledale, and in the lowlands on the sands and gravels near Doncaster. For the record it must be added that in the latter region they have not yet been proved to extend to the limestone country and there is as yet no evidence of iron age date. A Romano-British archaeologist might also cite the Roman method of land division *per strigas et scamnas,* another co-axial system, traces of which have been claimed near Tadcaster by H. G. Ramm.

The systems of fields defined by parallel reaves, sometimes covering several square miles of Dartmoor, running over hills and sometimes crossing deep valleys, inevitably make the reader wonder that such well organised division of the land took place at an early date. We are used to the great examples of communal work represented by early monuments such as the larger henges, but land division on this scale is less familiar. The book closes by reflecting on the problem, without drawing conclusions, but making the reader think. The work on Dartmoor has made an important contribution to landscape archaeology, and this book succeeds in presenting the subject, not as subject of importance to the specialist only, but as a matter of general interest to the public.

A useful appendix gives places to visit, using the Ordnance map mentioned earlier.

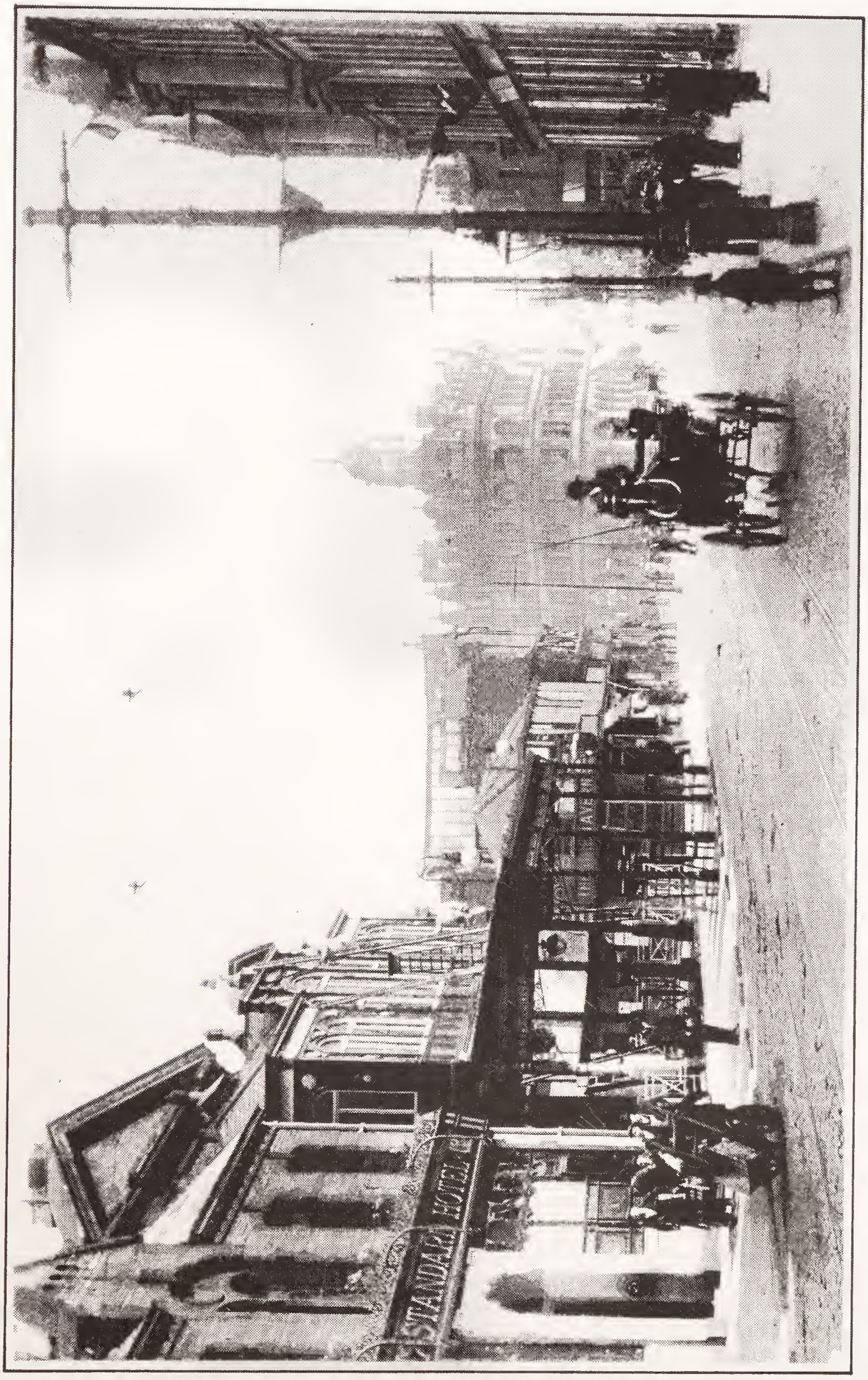
Sheffield *D. N. Riley*

T. French and D. O'Connor, *York Minster: a catalogue of medieval stained glass. Fascicule 1. The West Windows of the Nave.* (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi: Great Britain III. Oxford University Press for The British Academy. London, 1987). 30 cm x 21 cm. xxii + 96 pp. 31 plates (16 in colour), 73 figs., 2 fiches. Price £29.50.

It is a pleasure to welcome this slim fascicule of the medieval glass *Corpus* which examines the three major west windows of the nave and aisles in York Minster. This presents medieval archaeology in its fullest sense: the well balanced marriage of the material evidence and the documentary evidence is placed in its context of patronage, iconography and workshop output. These are the themes which are so attractively examined. The main theme is, of course, the surviving glass. A detailed catalogue of 70 pages describes each element of each window in turn by recording the subject matter, the condition and painting technique, and finally the iconography. Each major figure panel is accompanied by a line drawing to indicate the various periods of repair. The catalogue is supported by 16 colour plates and 2 fiche sheets (93 illustrations) which enable the stylistic detail and the colour composition to be fully appreciated.

The documentary evidence is twofold: three appendices provide actual transcripts from Archbishop Melton's Register, from Torre's notes and from the mid-eighteenth-century fabric accounts; the succinct introductory essay furnishes a history of the glazing work from its initial contract in 1338/9 up to the present day, showing how extensive and varied the campaigns of repair have been. One of the authors (French) discussed the details of the contract in an earlier volume of this Journal (47 (1975), 81-5) so only a summary is given in the *Corpus*. The extended chronological coverage is necessary to place these finely-preserved but frequently-repaired windows in their context.

The importance of patronage by the archbishop for the great west window and by unknown donors for the two aisle west windows is readily understood when the sources of patronage for the other south aisle windows are appreciated. The iconographic scheme of the main west window links eight 'founder' archbishops, twelve apostles and appropriate scenes from the Life of Christ



© The Francis Frith Collection 1981

Lane, 1902

Bradford Manningham

48570

and that of the Virgin. This scheme is echoed in the central scenes of the aisle windows showing the Crucifixion of Christ and the Virgin with Child. Parallels are drawn with a scheme at Rouen two decades earlier, but also with the lively patronage for glass painters in local minsters, abbeys and parish churches. Thirteen monochrome plates show comparative details of glass and manuscript illumination in York churches and further afield. The position of York as a regional capital with overseas links through the Humber estuary is enhanced by the wealth and variety of stained glass in and around York, Selby and Beverley. The absence of a full survey of stained glass in Yorkshire, unlike the surveys of church bells and church plate, means that there is more pioneer work to be done and discoveries to be made.

Emphasis is placed on the importance of William Melton as the promoter of cathedral building works, as the inspiration behind the west window iconography and as the originator of the increased celebration at York for the feast of the Corpus Christi. The authors suggest that Melton's period of diplomatic service in France and his prolonged wait at Avignon for the pallium in 1316-7 may have provided him with ample opportunities to imbibe new French and Italian ideas in art styles. It is an intriguing thought that English medieval art might owe many unintended debts to Italian art styles through papal procrastination and labyrinthine bureaucracy.

In a work of such high scholarship and fine quality of production it is difficult for a reviewer to offer any criticism, though when reference is made to Torre's careful copying of the lettering script in the eight archbishops' names it is a pity that the illustration (plate 18) fails to show this detail. There are a few misprints where incorrect page references have been cited. However the overall impression is of a task well conceived and finely completed. Another 113 windows in York Minster contain medieval glass. It is hoped that future volumes on York prepared to this excellent standard will appear at regular intervals.

Centre for Archaeological Studies,
Leeds University

Lawrence Butler

The Francis Frith Photographic Archive

A microfiche edition of a remarkable collection of 300,000 photographs of over 5000 locations in Britain, taken between 1860 and 1970, is to be made available on a county by county basis. Francis Frith (1822-98), born in Chesterfield and a wholesale grocer in Liverpool, sold his business in 1856 to devote his time to travel and photographic recording, at first in the Middle East and then in his homeland. His views were widely stocked and made into picture postcards. After his death many more locations were added to the 750 he had recorded in his project of making a thorough photographic record of Britain. Access to the archive has up to now been difficult, since the day books record the subjects chronologically not topographically. A limited edition of 67 county volumes of prints in microfiche, titled, indexed and, where possible, dated, is to be published. Yorkshire is one of the 15 counties so far completed. The accompanying photograph of Manningham Lane, Bradford is an example of the material available. Further details of the collection are available from Nigel Frith, The Francis Frith Collection PLC, Charlton Road, Andover, Hants, SP10 3LE.

The numerous views of York taken by Frith or his staff between 1861 and 1895 have been discussed by Hugh Murray in *Photographs and Photographers of York, The Early Years 1844-1879* (Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society in association with Sessions of York, 1986, pp. vi + 130, pl. 106).

R. A. Hall, H. MacGregor and M. Stockwell, *Medieval Tenements in Aldwark, and Other Sites,* The Archaeology of York, 10/2, 1988. 98pp, 16 plates, £15.00.

The re-development of the Aldwark area of York as a result of Lord Esher's proposals made possible a number of excavations between 1971 and 1980 which cast light on the development of the area since Roman times. Although resources were never adequate enough for the opportunities available, a remarkable amount of information was gleaned. The important excavation of the

church and cemetery of St. Helen-on-the-Walls has already been published *(The Archaeology of York,* Fascicules 10/1 and 12/1); the present fascicule gathers together the medieval evidence from the rest of the Ebor Brewery site and from four other sites in Aldwark, as well as brief studies of observations or excavations in the Shambles and Parliament Street and at the church of All Saints, Pavement.

The bulk of the reports relate to Aldwark, for which a combination of archaeology and documents is used to good effect, even though it proved impossible to link the considerable documentary evidence firmly to specific excavated buildings. Dr. Rees Jones supplies an admirable historical introduction to the medieval Aldwark/Bedern area, and each excavation is then described, discussed and interpreted by present and former members of the trust staff. Aldwark is shown to have been rather mixed in character in the later middle ages, with a mixture of monastic hospices, the tailors' guildhall, and numerous humble cottages. Much of the street was owned by the archbishops, the Minster vicars choral and several Yorkshire monastic houses, but other property-owners included a mixture of knightly families and urban craftsmen, especially leather workers.

The evidence from various trenches on the Ebor Brewery site (21-33 Aldwark) was rather tantalising, with little clear indication of the nature and plan of structures, and no firm conclusions possible on the development of post-Roman boundaries and fortifications. The other excavations, however, yielded a good deal. Nos. 1-5 Aldwark provided a cross-section through a tenement from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, including details of construction techniques, and evidence for a substantial stone house of the twelfth century. At 2 Aldwark was found a succession of medieval buildings, possibly including part of a five-cottage row built in 1335, and revealing 'the most substantial body of excavated evidence for medieval methods of constructing the footings and foundations of secular buildings yet published from York.' Finds from other sites described here include twelfth-century carved stones, perhaps from the Minster choir which was replaced in the fourteenth-century, re-used as linings for a well. Altogether the work summarised here represents an important corpus of new material on medieval York, and reflects great credit on the work of the York Archaeological Trust and York Excavation Group.

Beverley *D. M. Palliser*

W. S. Hanson, *Agricola and the conquest of the North,* B.T. Batsford, London, 1987; pp. 210. pls. 16, figs. 28, tables 4. Hbk. £17.95.

This is an attractively produced book. Its well reproduced plates have been carefully selected to illustrate the text. It has many maps and plans. As prices are today its cost is reasonable.

After 34 years another member of the teaching staff of Glasgow University has given us a book on Agricola. A. R. Burn's little classic of 1953, *Agricola and Roman Britain,* is still readable and useful. Both he and Dr. Hanson, by giving the word 'Agricola' a heavier type than the rest of their titles, emphasise that Agricola is meant to be the main subject of their books. Burns did this with justification, since his method was biographical. The great value of Dr. Hanson's book lies in the great wealth of new archaeological evidence which he summarises and reviews. This evidence is at its weakest when concerned with campaigns, at its best in showing how the Romans consolidated their gains. The best chapter in his book, the clearest in argument and most productive of conclusions, is wholly archaeological and analyses the withdrawal from Scotland.

Dr. Hanson aims at a synthesis of historical, epigraphic and archaeological evidence. He speaks with most authority on archaeology, and his assessment of Agricola is vitiated by a apparent antagonism towards both Agricola and Tacitus. Tacitus, however, sets the agenda for the book and Dr. Hanson's reactions to him occupy too much argument. He is right to warn us of Tacitus' personal and political bias, to look at his sources, and to show his lack of real knowledge of British topography and political geography. Yet Tacitus' short monograph (which occupies only 32 pages of Ogilvie and Richmond's edition, including *apparatus criticus,* of which nearly 8 describe one battle) is the only literary text we have to provide us with a account of successive governors, of the stages of Roman advance across Britain, as well as details of Agricola's governorship and campaigns. Tacitus' brevity has naturally been wrung dry of every drop of significance, probably of more than Tacitus ever intended his words to bear. In these circumstances to overstate the case

against Tacitus has at least the value of engendering caution in how we use his text.

Dr. Hanson dislikes the proportion of his book which Tacitus allots to the battle of Mons Graupius (nearly 25 percent). Perhaps this is excessive, even if we accept Ogilvie and Richmond's judgement that it was 'a victory that was as final for its generation as Culloden'. Dr. Hanson does not accept this judgement. To quote him, 'The battle need not have been an exceptional victory'. 'Nor is there any need to herald the success as particularly outstanding'. Yet he too devotes more space to it than he need have done, half of it discussing that hoary chestnut and as yet unsatisfactory answered question of where it was. His answer is basically that we do not know, though he has a bias towards a northern site, but 'taking a broader historical perspective, however, the precise location of the battle is an irrelevance'. Why then devote so many pages to what is irrelevant?

The final chapter is devoted to deflating the military reputation that Tacitus has so carefully built up for his father-in-law. Tacitus and some subsequent scholars may have overpraised Agricola, but he cannot have been a nonentity: *ornamenta triumphalia* did not come up with the rations. The withdrawal from Scotland was an orderly one, the result of imperial policy rather than of any local defeats or pressure. Within a decade 'territory directly controlled by Rome had been pulled back...to the Tweed' and Lowland Scotland and Britain N. of the Tyne-Solway isthmus was lost within quarter of a century.

There remain Agricola's achievements in Wales and northern England. These Dr. Hanson regards as 'much enhanced by Tacitus' wilful vagueness' and 'the completion of the consolidation process which followed the main conquest of these areas by his predecessors'. The comparison between Dr. Hanson's maps of pre-Agricolan forts (fig. 4) and Agricolan and late Flavian forts (fig. 8) suggests a different story. The maps in Hartley and Fitt's *The Brigantes* (1988, figs. 7 and 8) make the point even more clearly. The main area of early consolidation (whether Cerealian or Frontinian) was in the Vale of York along the lines of communication on either side. Here were the people whom the Romans wished to protect or control; here was the *civitas* capital; and here was probably most of the fighting. Dr. Hanson correctly accepts the line of marching camps over Stainmore towards Carlisle as Cerealian. He comments on their small size and suggests that Cerealis divided his forces. Ogilvie and Richmond suggest with more probability 'an exploratory and punitive expedition'. The greater area covered by forts under Agricola to the north of the Vale of York suggests a more solid achievement than the mere consolidation of his predecessors' work, just as the late Flavian forts in the northern Dales and Lake District suggest that there may have been unfinished business in the hills after Agricola.

On the whole this is a good book, worthy to take its place on the shelf beside Burn and Ogilvie and Richmond, provided one is not too annoyed by the author's wilful antagonism towards Tacitus and Agricola.

York *H. G. Ramm*

Raymond H. Hayes. *North-East Yorkshire Studies: Archaeological Papers* (edited by P. R. Wilson). Roman Antiquities Section, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1988; pp 144, pls 39, figs 113. £15. (p.b.)

During the past forty years Raymond Hayes has published many contributions to the archaeology of north-east Yorkshire. They relate to all the prehistoric and historic periods, so that it is impossible to work on any of them without being greatly indebted to him. This volume is a collection of ten papers and twelve notes of work done over the years, which has not previously appeared, or only in an abbreviated form. The papers comprise two prehistoric, four Roman, three medieval and one post-medieval; four of the notes relate to prehistoric topics and six to medieval, mostly pottery studies.

The first prehistoric paper concerns mesolithic sites on the North York Moors, but the five major areas discussed had been stripped of thousands of flints by collectors who left no records, so it is impossible to know whether the presently reported assemblages are true samples. Only at the excavated site at Ousegill Head can we be sure. The paper on the Costa Beck Iron Age site reports the finds, mainly pottery and animal bones, dredged from the beck at the site, confirming its great potential. Two gazetteers list the Roman sites of the area, and the small square or rectilinear enclosures. Many of these are undated, but others have yielded Roman pottery, and

one or two have proved to be iron age. A Romano-British site excavated at Stonygate near the bottom of Newton Dale was of the fourth century, but although tiles were found, the building seems to have been destroyed by floods. The fourth Roman paper brings together a number of excavations and discoveries in the Norton vicus. There has been much post-war destruction here, and most of the paper relates to salvage work. It includes the Langton pottery kiln, the Langton Road cemetery and the Roman road to Settrington.

The medieval papers describe a farmstead, possibly a vaccary, high in the valley above Baysdale, a useful pointer to future work on the moors, and a farm house at Thornton Risborough in the Vale of Pickering. Rosedale West medieval iron works were extensively excavated and dated by pottery to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The report on the fifteenth-seventeenth century pottery kiln at Stearsby is of great importance. This with the gazetteer of local medieval kiln sites and the study on the kiln and pottery at Thirlby are key papers in their field.

This is a very valuable collection of data, on which future work can be built. The many illustrations and drawings are models of clarity and there are useful photographs, the whole splendidly edited by Peter Wilson.

Skelton, York. *D.A. Spratt*

James Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture,* Shire Publications Ltd., Princes Risborough 1988; pp. 60, figs 28. £2.50.

The latest in the Shire Archaeology series is by an authority on the subject. Half the book discusses such topics as form and function, ornament, dating and iconography. The remainder is devoted to accounts of 19 selected examples, a list of places to visit, and a bibliography. The illustrations are well reproduced and the booklet provides an attractive introduction to a difficult subject. There is an understandable northern bias, Yorkshire being well represented with discussion of sculpture at Brompton, Leeds, Otley and York. Possibly the author assumes too much knowledge on the part of his readers, who might require some explanation of the Jellinge style, carpet pages or fettered beasts. One might object that Canute's reign of 19 years was hardly 'short' or fail to recognize St Peter's as being the same as York Minster. However, in the small compass to which he is confined, Mr Lang manages to mention, if not illustrate, most important examples and to cover both Anglian and Scandinavian traditions. To be able to summarize so daunting a subject as iconography in 1600 words without major omissions shows real expertise.

J. Price and P. R. Wilson (ed.), *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire.* B.A.R. British Series 193 (Oxford 1986); pp. xii + 406, figs 95. £25.

This collection of essays was written in honour of Mary Kitson Clark (Mrs Derwas Chitty), whose Gazetteer of Roman remains in East Yorkshire was published 50 years before the conference at Leeds out of which this volume grew. There are 22 contributions, divided into local and regional studies, papers on the material evidence, and work based on documentary sources. They vary considerably in the detail and depth of research, the scope of the area or subject covered, and the quality of the writing. Few parts of Yorkshire escape attention, though the old East Riding is naturally accorded most space. Some of the discussions deal with topics already familiar from earlier publications, such as two by Colin Hayfield and Philip Rahtz on the Wharram area, or that by Dominic Powlesland on the Vale of Pickering.

The papers which one reader found particularly interesting were those by Ben Whitwell on Late Roman Settlement on the Humber and Anglian Beginnings, examining less familiar evidence from North Lincolnshire, Tony Sumpter on Dalton Parlours and Paul Buckland on building materials in Roman Yorkshire, with its implications for water transport of stone and for the extent of the legionary *territorium* around York. J. Creighton, writing on the place-names of East Yorkshire in the Roman period, questions assumptions made by other authors by identifying *Derventio* in the Notitia as Papcastle but in the Antonine Itinerary as Stamford Bridge, and *Delgovicia* as Malton rather than Shiptonthorpe or Wetwang.

The studies based on material evidence also include a discussion by Stephen Briggs on whether

querns were made from erratic boulders, a paper by J. Evans on late Roman pottery distribution, and an examination by P. R. Wilson of a little known ivory statuette from near Malton. John Dent's account of altars found at Elmswell by the Granthams would fit more naturally into this section. Jenny Price's study of glass bangles from Yorkshire is thorough and substantial.

If a student reads this book and the earlier collection of essays in honour of Maurice Barley, he should be aware of most aspects of Roman Yorkshire, learn about most of the latest finds and sites, and be acquainted with the latest state of knowledge about the period. There is a stress here on rural settlement, and urban sites, though mentioned, are less thoroughly studied in this volume.

Since 60 pages are occupied by the separate bibliographies to each article, often repeating the same titles, it would have been more economical to have had one list for the whole book, though perhaps the way that the contributions were collected made this difficult. It would have been useful to have had an index, requiring a good deal of effort to compile. Most sites in Yorkshire would be there, as well as that first-century eternal triangle of Cartimandua, Venutius and Vellocatus.

R. M. Butler

F. C. Rimington, *The History of Ravenscar and Staintondale,* Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society, 1988; pp. 100, figs 12. Available from J. M. Stebbing, 12 Hillcrest Avenue, Scarborough YO12 6RQ. £3.50 + 50p p. & p.

This account of a coastal parish south of Whitby is largely based on a collection of deeds translated by Lionel Charlton in 1776 but since lost. The manor was held from *c.* 1150 to 1540 by the Hospitallers, granted to William Buckton and Roger Marshall in 1553, and eventually divided among a number of freeholders who were able to claim exemption from jury service by virtue of their ancient charters as recently as 1963. There are sections on the alum works, beacons, Quakers, railways and smuggling, but perhaps the parts of most general interest will be those devoted to Raven Hall and the Roman signal station below it. The hall, now a hotel, was built in 1774 by William Child and later belonged to the Willis family, who treated George III during his bouts of insanity.

Everything that is known about this small and scantily populated area seems to have been collected here, assiduously if uncritically. The division of the book into 31 short chapters and 14 appendices in no very logical order makes the contents disjointed. However, the sources for a history of Staintondale are here, accompanied by a map of the area and photographs of such features as boundary stones and the Roman inscription from Ravenscar.

Roger Swift, *Police Reform in Early Victorian York, 1835-1856,* Borthwick Papers No. 73, 1988; 48pp. £1.80 + 25p p. & p. from Borthwick Institute, St Anthony's Hall, York YO1 2PW.

In 1836, under the terms of the Municipal Corporations Act, the city council of York appointed a watch committee, but the 'new police' which resulted was still the old force of 12 men, since the recommendations for at least 24 were thought extravagantly expensive: 'the police had never cost the city more than £275 per annum hitherto'. Such numbers seem inadequate for a population of some 30,000, a tenth of whom were disorderly Irish immigrants, with over 200 public houses to supply them with drink.

This booklet discusses leadership, recruitment, equipment, manpower, duties and pay of the York police force. Crime in the city was largely petty, with theft, drunkenness and assault the most common offences, though in 1845 less than a quarter of reported larcenies resulted in committals. Dr Swift's study introduces us to such characters as Inspector Joseph Turner, the owner of cottages in Stonebow Lane occupied by women of ill-fame, the efficient Constable Mark Green, J. S. Maddison, of the Association for the Protection of Property in York and Neighbourhood (convicted of embezzling its funds), and criminals like the pickpocket James Mahoney or the disorderly prostitute, Ellen Wilson.

The city vigorously opposed the County and Borough Police Bill of 1856, fearing that the police would become an oppressive arm of central government, a standing army with tyrannical and unconstitutional powers. However, a report by Colonel James Woodford showed how inefficient

the York police really were, with poorly dressed and under paid men passing items of equipment to each other and supernumaries hurriedly sworn in to give a false impression of the force's strength. As a result the city reluctantly accepted a government subsidy, increased numbers of constables to 36 and had its force certified as efficient in 1857.

This survey is an interesting study of crime, policing and social conditions in York over two decades when in other, more industrialised, cities the workers saw the new police as their enemy and radicals denounced 'the plague of the blue locusts'. Fortunately nowadays, unlike 1842, the Lord Mayor does not have to call in military units to prevent the rescue of political prisoners by mobs of their supporters, while constables are now paid more than 15*s* a week and are expected to be able to read and write.

For Long Cross Lane (p. 3) and Peasegate (p. 14), read Long Close Lane and Feasegate.

Joan Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors 1132-1300,* Cistercian Studies Series 91, Kalamazoo, Cistercian Publications, 1987; pp ix, 314.

Fountains Abbey has been fortunate in the survival of much of its archives relating to property-holdings, and Dr Wardrop has used her doctoral thesis as the basis for a thorough and detailed study of those archives. She has used over 5,000 charters – originals, copies and abstracts – prior to the year 1300, many of them unpublished, to provide a more detailed picture of the growth of the abbey's estates than ever before, with a particular concentration on the donors and their motives. It is made clear that 'the basic shape of its holdings', including most of its acquisitions of whole vills, was complete by about 1200, but that a judicious policy of consolidation continued throughout the thirteenth century, using purchase and exchange to create compact blocs of land. Many of the early acquisitions were apparently gifts from pious donors, but Dr Wardrop is well aware of the complexity of transactions and motives that could lie behind apparently generous formulae, and she is often able to demonstrate or suggest that a purchase was involved. Hence she uses 'benefactors' to include not only those who gave lands freely 'but also those who leased, fee-farmed, or sold rights or lands to the monks'.

The analysis starts with the different types of benefactions in terms of tenure and of land use, with some detailed case-studies such as Kirkby Wiske and Wheldrake, before moving on to samples of benefaction by social class. Four 'magnate' families and a dozen knightly families are sampled, followed by a brief but interesting survey of 'peasant' benefactors, i.e. those below the level of knights. Finally, benefactions are re-examined in terms of their declared motives, looking at requests for prayers, confraternity, corrodies, burial rights and so on in their charters.

A huge amount of information is summarised and sampled by Dr Wardrop, and she has made a major contribution to our knowledge of twelfth – and thirteenth – century Yorkshire. It is unfortunate, however, that the maps promised on page ix never materialise (there is one small-scale endpaper map), and that the identification and location of estates is not as careful as it might be. The grange in the Roxby/Pickhill area, for example (pp 62-4) becomes 'Roxby Pickhill' in both text and index, so that no entries are indexed under Pickhill, even though that is the surviving village of the pair and the one marked on the map. Skipton-on-Swale is some 2½ miles from 'Roxby Pickhill', not 10 miles (p 65), while it does not help that entries for major churches and religious houses in York and Ripon are indexed under 'St' and not under those towns.

University of Hull *D. M. Palliser*

Katherine A. Webb, *"One of the most useful charities in the City": York Dispensary 1788-1978,* University of York, Borthwick Paper No. 74, 1988. Available from the Borthwick Institute, St Anthony's Hall, York YO1 2PW; pp. 40. £1.80 + 20p p. & p.

The York Dispensary, the eleventh of such provincial institutions, was founded in 1788 to help the sick poor and was supported by subscriptions from the more affluent citizens. It was originally based in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, but as it grew it moved successively to St Andrewgate (1806), New Street (1827) and Duncombe Place (1899). A maternity hospital was opened in Ogleforth in 1908. Members of such families as the Grays, Oldfields and Tukes succeeded each other as directors. Since 1948 it has been a charitable trust, distributing about £9000 a year to the

sick poor of York. This study, dealing with its history, staff, activities and numbers of patients, will be useful to all who want to understand the part played by the Dispensary in the health provisions of the city, before the 1911 National Insurance Act deprived it of many patients and the introduction of the National Health Service led to the closure of its premises.

Graham Webster (ed.), *Fortress into City, the consolidation of Roman Britain, first century A.D.,* B.T. Batsford, London, 1988; pp. 178, pl. 37, figs. 57. Hbk. £19.95.

Here is a other well produced Batsford book on archaeology. As the Roman army moved forward in its conquest of Britain, it left behind a number of military sites that were no longer needed. This book tells us how the largest of these, the legionary fortresses, were converted into cities and how the Romans consolidated their new province 'by establishing properly organised and governed communities with ample market facilities for the expansion of trade'. The main part of the book consists of six case histories, individual essays by archaeologists responsible for major ongoing excavations. Five of the sites were originally fortresses and the sixth an auxiliary fort. Three became *coloniae* (Colchester, Gloucester and Lincoln) and three (Cirencester, Exeter and Wroxeter *civitas* capitals.

The book begins with a scene-setting introduction by the editor, an excellent summary of the relations between Rome and Britain, and the stages of its conquest from Julius Caesar to Agricola. Only the last two pages of the introduction are devoted to the theme of the book, raising enough questions for us to hope that he might have added some conclusions at the end of the book. Such a collection of essays could easily lack unity but all have stuck closely to their brief and the book hangs together well. Each describes the military history of the site, sometimes discussing the fortress buildings in too great detail. In fact more seems to be generally known about the fortress buildings than about the details of their conversion to civilian use.

Surprisingly little seems to have been kept of the earlier buildings. The commonest survival was the street plan, easily adapted to the grid system of urban *insulae*. At Colchester even that seems only to have been partially reused. The next most common survival were the defences. Even at Exeter, where the civitas capital did not need defences, they appear if not repaired, at least to have been kept clear and clean. At Colchester, where the line of the new defences and the military ones might have coincided, the old were levelled and the new ones constructed outside them. The centurions' houses at Colchester were reused by the civilians but the rest of the barracks were pulled down, while the public buildings of the *colonia* were erected in the old military annexe to the fortress. The most obvious conversion might seem to be from *principia* to *forum,* but generally the *principia* were too small and even where, as at Lincoln, the site was the same, the old buildings were replaced. The shell of the legionary baths at Exeter was partially reused in the new forum there. Wroxeter has also some evidence of reused buildings.

The essays vary with the quality and quantity of the evidence available. Gloucester provides the most problems, but not the greatest detail, and has produced the most controversial essay. Lincoln offers the greatest detail, well summarised. Colchester, where the legionary fortress was only discovered in 1972, has produced an astonishing amount of evidence. Cirencester's inclusion was a mistake, since it was a large town, on whose morphology the small auxiliary fort can have had little effect. The book provides new light on a theme not often raised and is to be welcomed.

York *H. G. Ramm*

L. P. Wenham, R. A. Hall, C. M. Briden and D. A. Stocker, *St. Mary Bishophill Junior and St. Mary Castlegate,* Council for British Archaeology for the York Archaeological Trust, London 1987; pp. 102, 23 plates, ills. on 8 unbound sheets. £19.50.

Wharram Percy and Barton-on-Humber are well-known local sites where the study of an ancient church's development entailed analysis of the standing structure, complementing excavations beneath the floor and in the surrounding churchyard. Comparable opportunities were lacking at the two York churches discussed in this fascicule but maximum use has been made of available evidence despite the limitations of what Richard Hall characterised as "keyhole archaeology". Involvement at St. Mary Castlegate was subject to various constraints which led to loss of stratigraphical information at upper levels, but fortunately it was possible to study an area

including the chancel arch in some detail. Excavations by L. P. Wenham to the north of St. Mary Bishophill Junior in 1961-3 and 1967 provided useful information on a long-established Roman fish sauce factory, and on Scandinavian-style burials predating the church. Medieval and later burials were not studied, and no excavation was possible within the church to verify the identification of the existing stone tower as the turriform nave of the original church.

One aspect of York's early history that emerges is the existence of burial grounds predating the earliest documented churches on the respective sites, a situation matched at the churches of St. Olave and St. Denys Walmgate. Anglo-Scandinavian funerary monuments can be associated with all four churches, while Anglian fragments built into the eleventh-century tower on Bishophill may originate from the shadowy precursor of Holy Trinity Priory. A maddeningly obscure dedication slab referring to various worthies presumably well-known to their eleventh-century contemporaries fails to elucidate the structure of St. Mary Castlegate, and all sculpture found there seems to predate it. Excavations suggest an earlier, probably seventh-century, church reusing Roman columns eked out by creditable contemporary copies, as at Ripon. Roman remains also provided building material for St. Mary Bishophill Junior. Differences in appearance at varying levels on the tower are explained as a conscious attempt to produce a decorative effect by use of ornamental bands. As certain sizes and types of material of this dwindling resource were exhausted as work proceeded, the result looks messy compared with the regular stripes of coloured marbles utilised for the liquorice-allsorts architecture of medieval Tuscany. Elevations and sections of the tower, printed to the enviably large scale of 1:50 include geological analysis of every stone. The colour difference between medieval tile and brick, erratics and millstone grit is barely detectable.

The proposed date for the Bishophill tower within the third quarter of the 11th Century fits with Taylor and Taylor's stylistic C3, and is consistent with the use of herringbone or counterpitched masonry. As Eric Gee pointed out in a YAJ review in 1986 this also occurs in the foundations of the first Norman Minster. The reconstruction of the section is not entirely convincing. Would three beams resting on corbels have provided adequate support for floorboards in the ringing chamber without an intermediate row of closely-spaced floorjoists? Putlog holes permitted a reconstruction of the scaffolding. Could a twist in this external structure have been responsible for the corkscrewing plans detectable at upper levels, albeit less extreme than Chesterfield spire? "Insect remains from the putlog holes" is probably compulsive reading for the keen entomologist. I could only reflect that the presence of *Anobium punctatum* and *Xestobium rufovillosum* was bad news for any structure incorporating timber.

Despite the inclusion of date-hatched plans, building history after 1100 is only considered insofar as it illuminates earlier structures. A plausible reconstruction of the Norman church roof at Bishophill should be possible following the fascinating discovery of twelve reused rafters packing out the fifteenth-century trusses. These retain square lap, notched-lap and lap-dovetail sockets, and must be earlier than the bare-faced lapped dovetail sockets in a rafter in York Minster's north aisle roof, reused in similar circumstances.

Discoveries of sculptured fragments at both churches, but pre-eminently at Castlegate, have enlarged our knowledge of what Collingwood called Anglo-Danish, but now has the accepted terminology of Anglo-Scandinavian, sculpture. In 1973, following Collingwood's stylistic dating in discussing new discoveries in York akin to others found later by the York Archaeological Trust but with some features matched by Romanesque carving in Normandy predating the Battle of Hastings, I suggested an eleventh-century date for much of this sculpture. From recent studies of Scandinavian styles Lang and others have since proposed a much earlier dating. I feel bound to modify my earlier viewpoint, but not to concede that a broad tenth-century date range can be narrowed to the first half of the century. Without seeking precise dates, and assessing the respective claims of Eric Bloodaxe and Earl Siward as potential patrons, I feel a remark on page 120 is crucial. Thanks to the Trust's Coppergate excavations one piece of sculpture, an unfinished slab, is context-dated. "The final phasing of this site is now complete, and the sculpture in fact derives from a context dated to c.975." No reason is given as to why this should be the last work of a distinctive style rather than from its median point.

The pointillist technique employed for the two sheets of carved fragments is excellent, but the illustration of cross-fragment 2 from St. Mary Bishophill Junior would have benefited from a complementary linear representation of the freshly-carved appearance of the beast on face A. As the perpetrator of the reconstruction of the ring cross-head from St. Mary Castlegate in RCHME

York Volume V, I realised that labels have been swapped. Fig. 49 b is by D. Tweddle, 49 c is my responsibility.Tweddle's analogies with crosses terminating in bosses on the upper arms alone seem convincing, although I am worried by the thinness of the arm which he believes emerged from the shaft. Minor points apart, the standards both of the graphic treatment of the sculpture and its discussion are exemplary.

RCHME, York *Ian R. Pattison*

West Yorkshire Archives Service, *Leeds Archives 1938-1988,* Wakefield 1988; pp. 72, incl. 50 ills. £5.95 + 55p p. & p.

This attractive guide, compiled by W. J. Connor and K. Sweetmore, lists the collections of the Leeds District Archives under fourteen categories from Ecclesiastical Records to Trade Unions. The former group includes 370 tithe awards, parish registers going back to 1537, records of the Archdeaconry of Richmond and chapel archives from eight Nonconformist denominations. Among the family and estate collections are those of such influential families as the Ingrams of Temple Newsam and the Lascelles of Harewood. Business records cover collieries, woollen manufacturers, bankers and chemists, while there is material generated by political parties from 1885 to 1982. Many local authority records are listed here, not only those of Leeds, but also those of the former borough of Pudsey, Wharfedale District Council and even some from the West Riding County Council.

Eight of the illustrations are in colour and there are coloured views by Humphrey Repton on the cover. Other plates include an early charter for land at Ripley, a letter from Queen Victoria about the Indian Mutiny, and a photograph of Sir Don Bradman being measured for a Burton's suit in 1938. Thus this publication is not merely a useful guide to the contents of the Leeds Archives but a collection of interesting pictures showing the scope of the rich material available.

R. E. Yarwood and J. J. Marriott, *The Aerial Time Machine,* West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, 1988. vi + 76 pp., 60 photographs, 11 figures and 2 cover photographs; £3.50 + 50p p. & p.

Thorough aerial reconnaissance and photography by Dr. R. E. Yarwood have resulted in a fine record of the historic landscape of West Yorkshire. A selection of his photographs has now been made available to the public in "The Aerial Time Machine", a short book published by the County Archaeological Service, of which both he and J. J. Marriott are members. The sixty photographs are accompanied by explanatory texts and, where necessary, by plans of the sites described. Two reconstruction drawings are also given.

The main body of the book is arranged in six chapters, each one beginning with a map of the county marked with the locations shown on the photographs. After an introductury chapter on the West Yorkshire landscape, various topics are covered, with examples of sites in use at different periods. This is an arrangement that neatly divides up a great variety of places photographed. The concise descriptive texts are interesting and informative.

Some good pictures illustrate examples of the ancient remains that are buried beneath the surface of cultivated fields, showing as crop marks when viewed from the air, and occasionally also being visible to an observer on the ground. Crop marks tend to be the main concern of aerial archaeologists in England, to the exclusion of other types of sites. This type of subject, though very important, is only one aspect of the photographs chosen here, the majority of which show familiar places from a new angle – historic buildings and towns, the landscape and the communications network. With such a wealth of pictures to choose from, it must have been difficult to make a selection, but there is one rather surprising omission. This is the great prehistoric henge monument at Ferrybridge, the bank of which, though much reduced by ploughing, can still be seen on cultivated land near the Ferrybridge power station; its ditch may form a crop mark in a dry summer.

As a photographer himself, the reviewer has looked rather critically at the standard of reproduction of the photographs. Here, the authors are in the hands of the printers of their book, and air photographs are not easy subjects, because the rather uniform lighting of many aerial views reduces their contrast. Most of the illustrations have come out well, particularly the crop marks and the near views of townscapes and landscapes. Some landscape views taken after light

snowfall are exceptions (plates 1, 41 and 54). The features on the ground have clearly been recorded with good contrast on these views, but the reproduction process that has been excellent for the other photographs has resulted in illustrations that have too many white or very dark areas – a pity, because the originals must have been some of the best pictures in the collection. The general reader, however, may hardly notice this problem.

An interesting final chapter and two appendices explain some of the ways in which archaeological sites may be seen from the air, and give examples of sites that are not what they seem to be, e.g. the crop marks apparently showing the outline of a fine Roman fort proved to be caused by the traces of an eighteenth-century garden. They round off a successful work, which can be thoroughly recommended to readers, whether they are West Yorkshire folk or not.

Sheffield *D. N. Riley*

AN INDEX TO THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL, VOLUMES 53-60, AND TO CERTAIN OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

This index was compiled by the Editor on the same lines as that to Vols 1-52 published in 1981 (Vol. 53, pp. 163-84). It indexes only the principal topic of each article in the Journal and of each volume in the Parish Register (PR), Record (RS) and Wakefield Court Rolls (WCR) Series published since 1980. It does not cover entries in the 'Yorkshire Archaeological Register', nor does it list authors and titles of articles and books reviewed.

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